Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes

Moving Frontiers, Shifting Identities in the Land of Rome (13th-15th Centuries)

By

Buket Kitapçı Bayrı

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Cover illustration: Fresco of Heavenly Ladder of St. John Klimakos, Exonarthex of the Vatopedi katholikon, Mount Athos, 1312. Monks are struggling to climb up the Ladder to Heaven, where Christ awaits to receive those who succeed; to the left of the Ladder, representation of a banquet of nobles, eight men belonging to four distinct social and ethnic groups; a demon leading a monk to the feast. © Photo: Sofragiu Petru. By permission of the Great and Holy Monastery of Vatopedi-Mount Athos.

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To Haldun, Leyla, and Fikret Cem

Contents

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Maps

Note on Transliteration

I have in general used Greek transliteration for Byzantine proper names and technical terms. Some common first names are rendered in their modern English form (for example, John for Ioannes, and Constantine for Konstantinos). For well-known place names, modern English spellings are used (for example, Constantinople, Crete, Athens). In some instances where the places are mentioned both in medieval Turkish Muslim and Byzantine sources, both Greek and Turkish names of the places are cited to make it easier to locate them in different reference works (for example, Philadelphia/Alaşehir and Malatya/Melitene). For the transliteration of proper names and technical vocabulary pertaining to the Turkish-speaking Anatolian /Balkan medieval world, modern Turkish orthography is used in most cases (for example, Bedreddin instead of Badr al-Din, *gazi* instead of *ghazi*, *gaza* instead of *ghazw*, and *ahi* instead of *akhi*). For the Persian-speaking medieval Anatolian world, modern Turkish orthography has been adopted, but in the index, it is coupled with a slightly modified version of the systems used in the second and third editions of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (for example, Izzeddin Keykavus / ʻIzz al-Din Kaykåus, Menakıbü'l Arifin / Manaqıb al-ʻArifin, Aksarayi / al-Aqsarayi)

Introduction

Since the time of Constantine I (r. 306–337) until 1453 or alternatively until 1461, there had been constant fluctuations in the geopolitical and cultural borders of the Christian Roman Empire, what today is commonly called the Byzantine Empire.[1] The arrival, conquest, and settlement of Turkish Muslim groups from the east at the end of the eleventh century ultimately resulted in the empire's political demise in the fifteenth century, triggering one of the last chapters in the history of cultural change in the Mediterranean basin.[2]

This cultural change—the Islamization and Turkification of Asia Minor (Anatolia) and the Balkans—was a highly complicated and non-linear process in the midst of a plethora of policies by the Byzantines, Latins, Franks, Armenians, Georgians, Syrians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Turks, Persians, Arabs and Mongols resulting in constantly shifting geopolitical borders (see maps 1–8).[3] These groups all constructed their own political histories and interpretations of events in as many or more languages.[4]

The Turkish Muslims' military and political conquest of Anatolia was swifter than the cultural incorporation of the territory and its people into the Turkish-speaking Muslim world. Islam achieved its dominance over Christianity between 1100 and 1400. Significant evidence for the minting coins or literary production in Persian and Arabic, the established languages of Islam, dates to the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Turkish vernacular gained currency as a literary language only at the end of the thirteenth and the early fourteenth

1 Alexander Kazhdan, "Byzantium, History of," *ODB* 1:344–345.

2 Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley 1971), 1–2.

3 The maps summarize the geopolitical situation between the end of the eleventh century and the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the fall of the Empire of Trebizond in 1461 to the Ottomans, two events that ushered in the political demise of the Byzantine Empire.

4 The complex political and cultural history of medieval Anatolia has been studied in various collected volumes in recent years: *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, ed. Andrew C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, and Sara Nur Yıldız (London 2015); *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Anatolia*, ed. Andrew C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (Würzburg 2016); *Architecture and Landscape in Medieval Anatolia, 1100–1500,* ed. Patricia Blessing and Rachel Goshgarian (Edinburgh 2017). Recently, monographs on the Byzantine and Muslim Turkish relations during specific periods have provided a more sophisticated perspective on the subject. See Nevra Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 2009); Dimitri Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford 2014); Rustam Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks, 1204–1461* (Leiden 2016); Alexander Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia, ca. 1040–1130* (New York 2017).

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centuries.[5] It was a process in which peoples along the territorial, political, and cultural spectrum interacted across porous and permeable frontiers. Groups of people changed allegiances not only through conquest, raid, enslavement, and conversion,[6] but also because they had ethnically or culturally mixed families or chose to live in polities and serve rulers different from their own political, ethnic, cultural, or social group. Hence integration and mutual influence became inevitable.[7] On the Byzantine land, which began to be ruled by Turkish Muslim groups, the Byzantines continued to live and speak their native languages including after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and the conquest of Empire of Trebizond in 1461.[8]

Although called Byzantines today, they called themselves Romans. To the Turkish Muslim groups, they were Rum or Rumis. This study focuses on the Byzantines living under Muslim rule in Asia Minor and the Balkans and the broader political and cultural transformation of these areas. It examines

5 Andrew C.S. Peacock, and Sara Nur Yıldız, "Introduction: Literature, Language and History in Late Medieval Anatolia," in *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life*, 21. For a list of literary works written in Turkish in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Ali Akar, *Türk Dili Tarihi. Dönem-Eser-Bibliyografya* (Istanbul 2005), 231–274.

6 On the destructive nature of these processes, see Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization*; idem, "*The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization*: The Book and Its Reviewers Ten Years Later," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 22 (1982): 225–285; idem, "*The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the 11th through the 15th Century*: The Book in the Light of Subsequent Scholarship, 1971–98," in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, ed. Antony Eastmond (Aldershot 2001), 133–145. Some general studies from the last decades of the twentieth century that base their arguments on Vryonis's ideas include Alexios Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East* (Thessalonica 1981); Ernst Werner, *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht: Die Osmanen. Ein Beitrag zur Genesis des Turkischen Feudalismus* (Vienna 1985); Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (Cambridge 1993); Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204: A Political History* (London 1997).

7 On the mutual contacts and influences during the process of transformation, see Frederick W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1929); Michel Balivet, *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rum turc: histoire d'un espace d'imbrication gréco-turque* (Istanbul 1994); idem, "Les contacts byzantino-turcs entre rapprochement politique et échanges culturels (milieu XIIIe–milieu XVe s.)," in *Europa e Islam tra i secoli XIV e XVI*, ed. Michele Bernardini et al., vol. 1 (Naples 2002), 525–548; idem, *Les Turcs au Moyen-Âge: Des croisades aux Ottomans* (*XIe–XVe siècles*) (Istanbul 2002); idem, *Mélanges byzantins, seldjoukides et ottomans* (Istanbul 2005); Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*; Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks, 1204–1461*; Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*.

8 On the conception of permanence of Byzantine forms and the Byzantine cultural heritage in the post-Byzantine period, see Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance: Continuation de l'histoire de la vie byzantine* (Bucarest 1935).

the Byzantines' encounters with Turkish Muslim groups in a shared space, here called "land of Rome," as imagined and represented through intersecting stories transmitted in Muslim warrior epics and hagiographies written in Turkish and Byzantine *martyria* in Greek produced between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The stories they tell informed the actions and perceptions of certain segments of the Turkish Muslim and Byzantine groups.[9]

The Turkish Muslim epics are viewed from the perspective of their depicting the transformation of Byzantine territories into Turkish Muslim lands through conquest involving the transformation of landscapes and people. The late Byzantine martyria are set in a story-world in which the frontiers of the territories under the authority of the Byzantine emperor, ruling from Constantinople, are shrinking. They situate their heroes in a much vaster space over which Byzantine emperors once held political authority and over which they and the Byzantine church continue to claim authority. The martyrs of these stories, living under Muslim or Latin political rulers, defend their Christian faith to the end, in the process legitimizing the claims of authority by the Byzantine emperor and the church in Constantinople. They are thus the defenders of the Byzantine political and cultural space.

The relationship of this literary world of epic, legend, and historical fiction to the real-historical world's geopolitical, social, and cultural realms is approached through examinations of setting (especially the land of Rome), characters (in particular the Byzantines), author, audience, and historical context as provided by secondary sources. The aim, however, is not to reconstruct the real-historical world of medieval Asia Minor and the Balkans but to understand perceptions of the land of Rome, its changing political and cultural frontiers, and in relation to these changes, the shifts in identity of the people inhabiting this space.

1 Sources

The principal sources of inquiry are through the *Battalname*, the *Danişmendname,* and the *Saltukname*, Turkish Muslim epics that deal with different cycles of the conquest of the Byzantine territory, which the Muslim groups call Rum İli or

9 On the role and impact of such stories, see Emmanuel Bourbouhakis and Ingela Nilsson, "Byzantine Narrative: The Form of Storytelling in Byzantium," in *Companion to Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (West Sussex 2010), 263.

Rum (Roman land, land of Rome);[10] late Byzantine *martyria* (sing. *martyrion*) dating between the 1230s and the 1430s that narrate the persecution of Orthodox Christians by Muslim, Latin, and Lithuanian authorities;[11] dervish vitas (*menakıbname* or *velayetname / vilayetname*) recounting the lives and deeds of Muslim dervishes, most of whom belong to the Abdalan-ı Rum dervishes, among them Baba İlyas (d. 1240), Hacı Bektaş (d. 1270), Hacım Sultan (ca. early fourteenth century), Abdal Musa (ca. early fourteenth century), and Otman Baba (d. 1478).[12]

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10 For the *Battalname*, see Yorgos Dedes, *Battalname*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1996). For the *Danişmendname*, see Irène Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend: étude critique du Danişmendname*, 2 vols. (Paris 1960); Necati Demir, *Danişmendname*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 2002). For the editions of the *Saltukname*, see Fahri İz and Gönül Alpay Tekin, *Saltukname: Ebu'l Hayr Rumi'nin sözlü rivayetlerden topladığı Sarı Saltuk menakıbı,* 7 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1974–84). Also see Şükrü H. Akalın, *Saltukname*, 3 vols. (Ankara 1988–90).

11 For the Thirteen Martyrs of Cyprus (*BHG* 1198), see Konstantinos Sathas, ed., "Διήγησις τῶν ἁγίων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ὁσίων πατέρων τῶν διὰ πυρὸς τελειωθέντων παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἐν ᾗ νήσῳ Κύπρῳ ἐν τῷ 6739," *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, vol. 2 (Venice 1873), 20–39. For Niketas the Younger by Theodore Mouzalon (*BHG* 2302), see François Halkin, ed., "L'éloge du néomartyr Nicétas par Théodore Mouzalon. BHG 2302," *Hagiographica inedita decem* (Turnout 1989), 127–136. For Niketas the Younger (*BHG* 2303), also see Hippolyte Delehaye, ed., "Le martyre de saint Nicétas le Jeune," in *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger*, ed. Adrien Blanchet and Gabriel Millet, vol. 1 (Paris 1924), 205–211. For Michael of Alexandria (*BHG* 2273), see *AASS* Nov. 4 (1925), 669–678. For Three Martyrs of Vilnius (*BHG* 2035), see Manuel Gedeon, ed., "Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Βαλσαμῶνος. Εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ ἐνδόξους νεοφανεῖς μάρτυρας Ἀντώνιον, Ἰωάννην καὶ Εὐστάθιον τοὺς ῥώσσους," *Archeion Ekklesiastikes Historias* 1, no. 1 (1911): 152–174. For the Martyrs of Philadelphia (*BHG* 801q), see Matoula Couroupou, ed. and trans., "Le siège de Philadelphie par Umur Pacha d'après le manuscrit de la bibl. patriarcale d'Istanbul, Panaghias 58," in *Geographica byzantina*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler (Paris 1981), 67–77. For Theodore the Younger (*BHG* 2431), see Nicolas Oikonomides, ed., "Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Νέου," *Neon Athenaion* 1 (1955): 205–221. For Anthimos, metropolitan of Athens (*BHG* 2029), see Konstantinos I. Dyobouniotes, ed., "Ὁ Ἀθηνῶν Ἄνθιμος καὶ πρόεδρος Κρήτης, ὁ ὁμολογητὴς," *EEBS* 9 (1932): 47–79. For George of Andrianople (*BHG* 2160), see Christos G. Patrinellis, ed., "Μιὰ ἀνέκδοτη Διήγηση γιὰ τὸν ἄγνωστο νεομάρτυρα Γεώργιο († 1437)," *Orthodoxos Parousia* 1 (1964): 65–73. For a concise review of the accounts of Christian martyrs who suffered on behalf of their religion and the literary traditions that flourished throughout the medieval Latin and Byzantine periods, see Marina Detoraki, "Greek Passions of the Martyrs in Byzantium," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography: Genres and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis, vol. 2 (Surrey 2014), 61–101. On the neo-martyrs, see also Antonio Rigo, "O martiri gloriosi di Cristo apparsi di recente," in *Oriente cristiano e santità: Figure e storie di santi tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, ed. Sebastiano Gentile (Rome 1998), 15–34.

12 For the vita of Baba İlyas-ı Horasani, see Elvan Çelebi, *Menakıbu'l Kudsiyye fi Menasıbi'l Ünsiyye* (*Baba İlyas-i Horasani ve Sülalesinin Menkabevi Tarihi*), ed. Ismail E. Erünsal and Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (Ankara 1995). Also see Mertol Tulum, ed., *Tarihi Metin Çalışmalarında Usul: Menakıbü'l Kudsiyye Üzerinde Bir Deneme* (Istanbul 2000). For the vita on Hacı Bektaş, see *Manakıb-ı Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli: Vilayetname,* ed. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı (Istanbul

Analysis of the warrior epics and martyria also include reference to the Byzantine frontier epic *Digenes Akrites*,[13] Turkish Muslim epics, including the *Book of Dedem Korkut*[14] and the *Düsturname*,[15] *Menakıbü'l Arifin* ("virtues of the gnostics"), a collection of biographical anectodes written in Persian, concerning Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi (1207–1273) and other founding fathers of the Mevleviyye order, and the vita of Şeyh Bedreddin (d. 1416), an Ottoman scholar, judge, Sufi, and rebel.[16]

1958); *Velayetname: Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli*, ed. Hamiye Duran (Ankara 2014). For the vita on Hacım Sultan, see Rudolf Tschudi, ed., *Das Vilajet-name des Hadschim Sultan* (Berlin 1914). For the vita on Abdal Musa, see *Abdal Musa Velayetnamesi*, ed. Abdurrahman Güzel, (Ankara 1999). For the vita on Otman Baba, see *Velayetname-i Otman Baba*, MS Ankara Genel Kütüphanesi 643, Ankara, National Library, microfilm, no. A22; *Otman Baba Velayetnamesi* (*Tenkitli Metin*), ed. Filiz Kılıç, Mustafa Arslan, and Tuncay Bülbül (Ankara 2007).

13 For Digenes Akrites, see Elizabeth Jeffreys, *Digenis Akritis, the Grottaferrata and Escorial Versions* (Cambridge 1998).

14 *Dede Korkut Oğuznameleri*, ed. Semih Tezcan and Hendrik Boeschoten (Istanbul 2001); *The Book of Dede Korkut: A Turkish Epic*, ed. and trans. Faruk Sümer, Ahmet E. Uysal, and Warren S. Walker (Austin 1991); *Dedem Korkudun Kitabı*, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay (Istanbul 1973). The *Book of Dedem Korkut* and the martyria on Theodore Gabras (m. 1098) (*BHG* 1745) and John the Younger (m. 1341–1343 or 1344–1345) (*BHG* 2194) are among the Turkish Muslim epics and Byzantine martyrdom stories related to the Pontic region in general and to Trebizond and Georgia in particular. Although the cults of the two martyrs are well established, the Greek martyria on them did not survive. The earliest ones date to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which is why these two martyria are not examined here. On the Byzantine-Turcoman encounter in the Pontic region, see Anthony A.M. Bryer, "Greeks and Turkmens: The Pontic Exception," *DOP* 29 (1975): 113–149; idem, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* (London 1980); Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Trebizond and the Turks (1352–1402)," in *Romania and the Turks* (*c. 1300–c.1500*), study III (London 1985); Rustam Shukurov, "Between Peace and Hostility: The Trebizond and the Pontic Turkish Periphery in the Fourteenth Century," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9 (June 1994): 20–72. On intercultural encounters in the Pontic region, see Antony Eastmond, *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium: Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond* (Aldershot 2004); idem, *Tamta's World: The Life and Encounters of a Medieval Woman from the Middle East to Mongolia* (Cambridge, MA, 2017).

15 For the editions of the *Düsturname*, see Mükrimin Halil Yınanç, *Düsturname-i Enveri* (Istanbul 1928); Irène Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le destan d'Umur Pacha* (*Düsturname-i Enveri*). *Texte, traduction et notes* (Paris 1954).

16 *Menakıbü'l Arifin* (*Manaqıb al-'Arifin*) is the work of Eflaki (d. 1360), who was a disciple of Ulu Arif Çelebi (1272–1320), the grandson of Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi. The text was composed in Persian language and completed in 1353. Majority of the anecdotes in the *Menakıbü'l Arifin* take place in Konya and its vicinities. It provides rich information on the daily and social life in Konya in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as well as on the Turkish emirates in western Anatolia of the fourteenth century. For the French edition and translation of the vita, *Menakıbü'l Arifin,* and on the life and deeds of Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi, see *Les Saints des derviches tourneurs*, ed. and trans. Clément Huart,

2 Scholarship

Both the Turkish Muslim epics and the Byzantine martyria examined are interesting in terms of understanding the different ways in which the Turkish Muslim groups and the Byzantines imagined and represented the appropriation of the land of Rome—Rum or Rum İli—and its people as well as the dialectic formation of identity stemming from the arrival, conquest, settlement and political rule of the Turkish Muslim groups. In the *Battalname*, the *Danişmendname* and the *Saltukname,* one can easily see that the storytellers, authors, or commissioners attached great value to Rum as a geopolitical and cultural space. The ultimate desire of the heroes is to conquer Rum and then to transform and convert its landscape and its people to incorporate them into the abode of Islam. In the *Saltukname,* the hero self-identifies with the geopolitical and cultural space into which the Turkish Muslim groups had intruded, calling himself a Rumi, a Roman. The heroes of the Turkish Muslim epics do not always identify themselves as Turks.

In these epics, there is always the "other," which is always the Rum. It is clear that the storytellers, compilers, or authors were well aware of what being Roman meant and how this identity changed over time. One can also detect the deliberate selection of a certain Byzantine character from a particular social milieu as the hero's companion, enemy, or wife or lover. All the choices are closely linked to the political structure and power dynamics in the Byzantine political space of each epic. Of note, the Byzantine women are not simply appendages, but useful players for manipulating the existing political structures.

In the late Byzantine martyria, the martyrs are almost always identified as Christians. The defining of this Orthodox Christianity, however, resembles the exclusive Roman identity developed after 1261, when emphasis was put on the central and hegemonic position of Constantinople in the world,[17] and when the personal elements of identity—descendants and family (*genos*), and fatherland (*patris*)—determined one's Romanness. In short, one's personal identity as Roman was incumbent upon one's political loyalty to the emperor in

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2 vols. (Paris 1918). For the Turkish edition and translation, see Ahmed Eflaki, *Ariflerin Menkıbeleri*, ed. and trans. Tahsin Yazıcı, 2 vols. (Istanbul 1986). On the vita of Şeyh Bedreddin, see *Simavna Kadısıoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Menakıbı*, ed. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı and İsmet Sungurbey (Istanbul 1966).

17 Dimiter Angelov, "'Asia and Europe Commonly Called East and West': Constantinople and Geographical Imagination in Byzantium," in *Imperial Geographies in Byzantine and Ottoman Space*, ed. Sahar Bazzaz, Yota Batsaki, and Dimiter Angelov (Washington, DC, 2013), 55–56.

Constantinople.[18] In the late Byzantine martyria, the territory once a part of the empire was still considered to be a part of the Christian Roman oikoumene. In the real world, however, the empire could not extend its territory, as the Byzantine polity and the imperial Constantinopolitan city-state were in no position to impose political authority through military means.[19]

The late Byzantine martyria reflect how the Byzantine emperors and the Byzantine Church tried to bolster their political and cultural authority in the lost territories by presenting themselves as the protectors of the Christian communities, the saints' relics and the churches and monasteries in these territories. Christian martyrs there sacrificed their lives for their faith, which was guided and protected by the Byzantine emperor and Byzantine patriarch of Constantinople. The martyrs of the late Byzantine martyria defend not only their faith by asserting their Christian identity, but also the political and cultural space of the Christian Roman oikoumene, whose definition or outline is rationalized in the telling of the martyrs' story.

Both the Turkish Muslim epics and the Byzantine martyria have been examined by scholars in researching the transformation of Anatolia through or arriving at the paradigm of Muslim–Christian or sedentary–nomad antagonisms, that is, the nomadic Muslim Turks versus the sedentary Christian Byzantines. The scholarship has considered the heroes of the Turkish Muslim epics as representatives of the Turcoman (nomadic Turkish) social milieu without consideration of whether the hero is a nomad or whether he identifies himself as a Turk. The Romanness of the "other" in the epics has been equated with their Orthodox Christianity, and the Christianity of the martyrs in the martyria have been examined as only reflecting a religious dimension. The relation of these identities with political and territorial elements of identity has not been considered.

2.1 *Nomadization*

The Turkish Muslim epics do not represent or imagine a gradual transformation of Asia Minor and the Balkans as a result of the arrival of the loosely

18 Anthony A.M. Bryer, "The Late Byzantine Identity," in *Byzantium: Identity, Image, Influence, XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies, University of Copenhagen, 18–24 August, 1996,* ed. Karsten Fledelius and Peter Schreiner (Copenhagen 1996), 49–50; Michael Angold, "Autobiography and Identity: The Case of the Later Byzantine Empire," *Byzantinoslavica* 60 (1999): 36–59.

19 Ioannis Stouraitis, "'Just War' and 'Holy War' in the Middle Ages: Rethinking Theory through the Byzantine Case-Study," *JÖB* 62 (2012): 227–264.

connected groups of Islamized Oghuz Turks (Türkmen or Turcoman), who having combined cultural and linguistic features of the Turkic peoples of the Central Asian steppes, with a life style of nomadic pastoralists, serve as superficially Islamized warrior groups.[20] Instead, the epics represent and imagine the experiences of various coalitions and groups in different parts of Asia Minor and the Balkans at different periods. The "nomad" is present as a character in each epic, but he is not necessarily the hero of the epic or necessarily a Turkish-Muslim nomad.

The only epic that reflects an Oghuz tribal social and cultural space is the *Book of Dedem Korkut*. The heroes of this epic, however, are not much interested in conquering and settling on Byzantine lands. They prefer to raid and plunder and return home. This is not because the frontier (*serhadd*) between the infidels and the home of the Oghuz begs (lords) is well-protected as in the *Battalname*, but because they have no desire to remain in the land of the infidels. The Oghuz begs do not have Byzantine companions like the heroes of the three Turkish Muslim epics analyzed, but they seem to have close and friendly relations with some infidel rulers, especially the ruler of Trebizond, who voluntarily offers his daughter for marriage to the son of one of the Oghuz begs.[21] At the same time, neither Trebizond nor the regions around it is considered as Roman land in the *Book of Dedem Korkut*. Rum is only mentioned in a story about Büre Beg, who sends his merchants to Constantinople to buy gifts for his son.[22]

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20 On the nomadization process upon the arrival of Turkish Muslim groups, especially related to the rise of the Ottomans, see Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington 1983), 1–43. Lindner argues that no specific "gazi ideology" existed in Anatolia in the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries, where the Turkic principalities and chieftains fought against both Christians and neighboring Muslims. On arguments in line with Lindner, see Heath Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany 2003). On nomadization, see Speros Vryonis, "Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor," *DOP* 29 (1975): 43–71; idem, "Byzantine and Turkish Societies and Their Sources of Manpower," in *Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks, and Ottomans: Reprinted Studies* (Malibu 1981), no. 3, 125–140. Also see Keith R. Hopwood, "Peoples, Territories, and States: The Formation of the Begliks of Pre-Ottoman Turkey," in *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Caesar E. Farah (Kirksville 1993), 129–138; idem, "Nomads or Bandits? The Pastoralist/ Sedentarist Interface in Anatolia," in *Manzikert to Lepanto: The Byzantine World and the Turks, 1071–1577*, ed. Anthony A.M. Bryer and Michael Ursinus (Amsterdam 1991), 179–194 For Türkmen, see Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, "Türkmen," *EI2*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1260 (accessed September 18, 2019). For Oghuz, see Claude Cahen, Gaston Deverdun, Peter Malcolm Holt, "Ghuzz," EI2, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0240 (accessed September 18, 2019).

21 Tezcan and Boeschoten, *Dede Korkut Oğuznameleri*, 125–127.

22 Ibid., 69.

The hero of the *Danişmendname*, Ahmed Danişmend, is not a nomad, and contrary to the arguments of Irène Mélikoff, the *Danişmendname* does not testify the social organization of the Turkish nomads (Turcomans).[23] In this epic, the nomad character is a Byzantine who eventually becomes the closest companion of the hero. The epic's progression resembles Alexander Beihammer's depiction of an encounter and transformation in which there is a merging of different cultural, religious, and ethnic elements rather than the replacement of one entity by another; engagement by the newcomers in the power struggles of the local elites, warriors and mercenary groups; and the "Turkish-Muslim" groups infiltration of the existing political structures and control of urban centers.[24]

The social and cultural milieus of the *Saltukname*, in which the hero, Sarı Saltuk, is a nomadic shepherd, are quite different than that of the *Book of Dedem Korkut.* Sarı Saltuk's ambitions are not similar to those of the Oghuz begs, nor are his actions on the frontier or in the land of Rome, his perceptions of the world or his attitudes toward Islam and Christianity. Sarı Saltuk represents the warrior-dervish, on a mission to proselytize Islam and conquer the world for it. In contrast, the Oghuz begs, although they pray to God (*Tanrı*) before raids appear to be only superficially Islamized.

In all Turkish Muslim epics and the Byzantine martyria, peaceful and hostile encounters between the Byzantines and Turkish Muslim groups take place in and around cities and on the frontiers. The nature of the frontiers is different in each story, ranging from a *thughur* type frontier typical of the ninth- and tenth-century Abbasid-Byzantine frontier to the Ottoman open frontiers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Both the Turkish Muslim epics and the Byzantine martyria although written for different purposes and audiences by different authors of different social and cultural backgrounds do not imagine and represent any encounter on rural areas between the Byzantine and Turkish Muslim groups. The dissension between nomads and urban dwellers is only visible in the *Book of Dedem Korkut* and in the *Saltukname* and in the vitas of the Abdalan-ı Rum dervishes. While in the *Book of Dedem Korkut*, the dissension is between the Turkish nomads and the rulers of the Byzantine and Georgian cities, in the *Saltukname* and the vitas of the Abdalan-ı Rum dervishes, it is between the Turkish Muslim city dwellers and the nomadic Abdalan-ı Rum dervishes and warriors.

23 Mélikoff, *La Geste de Danişmend*, 1: 64–69, 123–124, 140.

24 Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*, 389.

2.2 *Islamization*

In the *Battalname* and *Danişmendname*, the heroes are identified as Muslims and gazis,[25] in the *Saltukname* as gazi, Turk, and Rumi, and in the Byzantine martyria, the martyrs are Christians. Given this and because the texts are full of conversion stories, scholars have analyzed both in terms of conversion to Islam and Islamization, in other words, the transformation of religious identity. Although it is clear that being Roman in the epics does not refer solely to the religious component of the identity of the "other," the Byzantine (Rum /Rumi / Roman) topos, as companion, opponent and wife or lover in the Turkish Muslim epics has been reduced to being Christian.

Speros Vryonis in his seminal work, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism and the Islamization of Asia Minor* highlights the inclusive nature of group formation in Turkish Muslim epics and dervish vitas as evidence of the missionary nature of "colonizing" dervishes in the so-called Islamization process,[26] whereas he considers the neo-martyrdom narratives as proof of forced conversions to Islam. These epics are also considered to be a part of gazi lore, in which the heroes identify as gazis. Cemal Kafadar has examined the conciliatory attitudes of the protagonists toward the Byzantines in the Turkish Muslim epics in light of *gaza* thesis, which ties the Ottomans' ascendance to gaza against Christianity.[27] Countering the idea of gaza being fervently violent and exclusive, he

25 On gazi and gaza, see Irène Mélikoff, "Ghazi," *EI*[2] 2:1043–1045; T.M. Johnstone, "Ghazw," *EI*[2] 2:1055–1056.

26 For the theory of syncretism and accommodation of the colonizing dervishes, see Ömer Lütfü Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942): 279–386. For the dervish vitas as evidence of syncretism and the neo-martyrdom narratives as evidence of forced conversion, see Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 391–396.

27 On the gaza thesis, see Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London 1938); Mehmed F. Köprülü, *Les origines de l'Empire ottoman* (Paris 1935). On the role of gaza as a legitimizing ideology in the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth century, see Victor Louis Ménage, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and Peter Malcolm Holt (London 1962), 168–179; Halil İnalcık, "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 2 (1980): 71–79; On the accommodationist aspect of gaza, see Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley 1995). On the importance of gaza ideology not only against Christians but also against the Mongols in late medieval Anatolia, see Ali Anooshahr, *The Ghazi Sultans and the Frontiers of Islam: A Comparative Study of the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods* (London 2008). In a brief survey of the terms gazi and gaza, and gaza thesis in the prevailing Ottoman scholarship and bibliography, see Linda Darling, "Contested Territory: Ottoman Holy War in Comparative Perspective," *Studia Islamica* 91 (2000) 133–163; eadem, "Reformulating the Gaza Narrative: When Was the Ottoman State Gazi State?" *Turcica* 43 (2011): 13–53.

analyzes selective scenes of Byzantine–Muslim conciliatory encounters and the inclusive nature of group formations in the epics. He also links the gaza phenomenon to the broader notion of the frontiers, where the practice of Islam was perhaps as fluid as the frontier itself.[28]

Tijana Krstic, who has examined the early Ottoman Turkish narratives and revisited some of the Turkish Muslim warrior epics, in particular the *Saltuk-name,* argues against the idea that they are examples of syncretism and against warrior -dervishes having conciliatory attitudes toward the Christians. According to Krstic, these narratives of violence and converting zeal demonstrate an ideological investment in the firm upholding of religious boundaries. She supports this idea with analysis of the martyrdom narratives of the early Ottoman period.[29]

Some of the late Byzantine passions of the saints martyred under Ottoman rule were included in the post-Byzantine neo-martyrdom collections, which were first gathered in the seventeenth century, by Ioannes Karyofylles (d. 1692), a high-ranking official in the patriarchate in Istanbul, and later by Nikodemos the Hagiorite, an Athonite monk (1749–1809). The collection of Nikodemos, the

28 Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 56, 81–82. On notable features of the frontiers in which a certain symbiosis took place along the Byzantine-Muslim borders with the evolution of a frontier society different from the more stable and peaceful communities of the hinterland, see Nadia Maria El-Cheikh and Clifford E. Bosworth, "Rum," *EI*[2] 8: 603; Clifford E. Bosworth, "The City of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine Frontiers in Early and Middle Abbasid Times," *Oriens* 33 (1992): 268–286; Paul Wittek, *Das fürstentum Menteshe: Studien zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im 13.–15.Jh* (Amsterdam 1967); idem, *Menteşe Beyliği: 13–15inci Asırda Garbi Küçük Asya Tarihine Ait Tetkik*, trans. Orhan Ş. Gökyay (Ankara 1944). On Byzantine and Muslim epics as the reflection of the frontier environment, see Agostino Pertusi, "Tra Storia e leggenda; akritai e ghazi sulla frontier orientale di Bisanzio," in *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Bucarest, 6–12 Septembre, 1971, Rapports II* (Bucharest 1971), 27–70.

29 Tijana Krstic, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford 2011). Krstic bases her arguments concerning the martyrs primarily on the book of Michael Vaporis, a twenty-first-century vulgarization of a twentieth-century neo-*martyrologion*. Nomikos Michael Vaporis, *Witness for Christ: Orthodox Christian Neomartyrs of the Ottoman Period (1437–1860)* (Crestwood 2000). The *Saltukname* has been looked at by several other scholars in terms of understanding Islamization in the Balkans. See Michel Balivet, "Le saint turc chez les infidèles: thème hagiographique ou péripétie historique de l'Islamisation du Sud-Est européen?" in *Saints orientaux*, ed. Denis Aigle, (Paris 1995), 211–223; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Sarı Saltuk: Popüler İslam'ın Balkanlar'daki Efsanevi Öncüsü* (Ankara 2002); Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Sarı Saltuk Becomes a Friend of God," in *Tales of God's Friends: Islamic Hagiography in Translation*, ed. John Renard (Berkeley 2009), 136–144; idem, "Islamisation through the Lens of the Saltukname," in Peacock, De Nicola, and Yıldız, *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, 349–364.

Neon Martyrologion, became a prototype in creating a collective memory for the reconstitution of the Orthodox Christian "flock" under the Tourkokratia. First, in 1821, during the Greek war of independence, and later, during the formation of other Balkan nation-states, the neo-martyr became a symbol of opposition and liberation. Among late Byzantine martyrdom narratives, those stemming from Ottoman or Muslim rule have been popular subjects among students of the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans, probably because of this connection to political events.[30]

Elizabeth Zachariadou was the first and last to approach these stories as a late Byzantine hagiographical corpus with an ideological agenda of transmitting a message.[31] She examined the martyrdoms under late medieval Muslim rule in Anatolia and in the Balkans as well as those under Latin rule and compared the patterns with those of martyria from the earlier Arab conquests. Zachariadou argued that the martyria of the concerned period reflect the ideology of the Byzantine church and that the martyria under Ottoman rule point to the church's pro-Ottoman tendency, which was reflected in instances of collaboration of metropolitans with the Ottoman sultans and of some monastic centers' accepting protection and tax exemption from the sultans.

30 On the collections of Karyofylles and Nikodemos, see Marinos Sariyannis, "Aspects of 'Neomartydom': Religious Contacts, 'Blasphemy' and 'Calumny' in 17th-Century Istanbul," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005 / 2006): 249–262. The Ottoman neo-martyrdom narratives have been popular for studying social and cultural issues in the Ottoman Empire. See Elenia Gara, "Neomartyr without a Message," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005 / 2006): 155–176; Phokion. P. Kotzageorgis, "'Messiahs' and Neomartyrs in Ottoman Thessaly: Some Thoughts on Two Entries in a Mühimme Defteri," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005 / 2006): 219–231; Rozitsa Gradeva, *Rumeli under the Ottomans, 15th–18th Centuries: Institutions and Communities* (Istanbul 2004), 201–209. For neo-martyr cults in Serbia during the Ottoman era, see Machiel Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period* (Assen 1985), 319–328. On the Ottoman neo-martyrdom narratives, also see Krstic, *Contested Conversions to Islam*. On the importance of the work of Nikodemos in offering a prototype and vocabulary for the conception of Greek national martyrs in the nineteenth century, see Georgos Tzedopoulos, "Εθνική ομολογία και συμβολική στην Ελλάδα του 19ου αιώνα: Οι Εθνομάρτυρες," *Mnemon* 24 (2002): 109. Nikodemos's work became a standard source for the neo-martyrs of the Tourkokratia, and augmented versions were published in the centuries to come. One of the latter, Ioannis M. Perantones, *Λεξικὸν τῶν νεομαρτύρων* (Athens 1972), was published for the 150th anniversary of Greece's independence. For a twenty-first century publication based on Perantones' edition, see Vaporis, *Witness for Christ*. I am indebted to late Vangelis Kechriotis, who informed me about the importance of the neo-martyrdom literature in the formation of the modern Greek identity.

31 Elizabeth Zachariadou, "The Neomartyr's Message," *Deltiou Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* 8 (1991): 51–63.

Zachariadou also concluded that these texts were composed to warn Orthodox Christians against Islamization and aimed to prove to the Roman Catholics that contrary to their claims, Christians living under Turkish rule were by no means less faithful than those living under Byzantine or Latin rule. According to Zachariadou, the Byzantine church preferred the Turks to the Latins, because it knew that Greek Orthodox Christianity, although degraded, could survive under the sultan.[32] As martyria are about Christian martyrs and the martyrdom narratives were written so that they could be inserted in the church calendars, Zachariadou took for granted that the authors of the texts were members of the Byzantine church. She therefore related the patterns of martyrdom in the texts to the ideology of the Byzantine church of the late Byzantine and early Ottoman period.

2.3 *"Romanization"*

A number of scholars have discussed the importance of Rum İli as a geopolitical and cultural space for the Turkish Muslim groups through examination of chronicles, artifacts, architecture, and numismatics. The Turkish Muslim begs who penetrated Byzantine territories during the later eleventh century, such as the Danishmendids, styled themselves on their coins as the "Great King of Rhomania and Anatolia."[33] The Anatolian Seljukids, whose principalities were based on the region of Konya and southern Cappadocia, referred to their state as Rum, at least in informal usage and to themselves as Seljuks of Rum, thereby in some measure conceiving of themselves as heirs to the Byzantine territory in south-central Anatolia.[34] Rum at the same time continued to signify both the territory under the political authority of the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople, the people under his authority, and the Greek Orthodox living under the political authority of Turkish Muslim rule.

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32 Ibid., 54.

33 Nicolas Oikonomides, "Les Danishmendides, entre Byzance, Bagdad et le sultanat d'Iconium," *Revue Numismatique* 25 (1983): 189–207; Rustam Shukurov, "Turkmen and Byzantine Self- Identity: Some Reflections on the Logic of the Title-Making in Twelfth- and Thirteenth- Century Anatolia," in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, ed. Antony Eastmond (Aldershot 2001), 255–272; idem, "Christian Elements in the Identity of the Anatolian Turkmens (12th–13th Centuries)," in *Cristianita d'Occidente E Christianita d'Oriente* (Spoleto 2004), 707–759.

34 El-Cheikh and Bosworth, "Rum," 606; Paul Wittek, "Le Sultan de Rum," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'histoire Orientales et Slaves* 6 (1938): 361–390; Balivet, *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rum turc;* idem, "Dar al-islam or bilad al-rum? Le cas de l'Anatolie turque au Moyen Âge?" in *Dar al–islam/Dar al–harb: Territories, Peoples, Identities*, ed. Giovanna Calasso and Giuliano Lancioni (Leiden 2017), 258–264.

The Ottomans' expansion in the fourteenth century eventually made them masters of the former Byzantine territories in both Anatolia and the Balkan region.[35] Since the territories of the late Byzantine Empire were mainly in Europe, these areas became for the Ottomans Rumeli or Rumelia, the land characterized by its predominantly Orthodox Christian population, the Rum. The Ottoman ruler Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402) assumed the title *sultan-ı Rum* (sultan of Rum), probably to express his supremacy over the other Turkish emirates in Anatolia and to emphasize his claim to be the true successor of the Seljuks of Rum.[36] Other Ottoman rulers, including Mehmed I (r. 1413–1421) and Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481), adopted the title sultan-ı Rum even before the capture of Constantinople, regarding themselves the heirs to both the Byzantine Empire and the Rum Seljuk sultanate. Especially from the fifteenth century onward, one perceives in the Ottoman sources, the terms Rum and Rumi defininig the Ottoman elite as well as a cultural geography and a certain artistic style in literature and architecture.[37]

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35 On Byzantine and Ottoman imperial geographies, see Sahar Bazzaz, Yota Batsaki, and Dimiter Angelov, eds., *Imperial Geographies in Byzantine and Ottoman Space* (Washington, DC, 2013). Melek Delilbaşı, *İki İmparatorluk Tek Coğrafya: Bizans'tan Osmanlı'ya Geçişin Anadolu ve Balkanlar'daki İzleri* (Istanbul 2013).

36 Bayezid I was not the only post-Seljukid or Ottoman ruler to use the title in Anatolia. Bayezid I, however, went further than his predecessors in asking the Abbasid caliph in Cairo to confer the title upon him. Wittek, "Le Sultan de Rum:" 381–382; Gilles Veinstein, "Les Ottomans: variations sur une identité," in *Valeur et distance: identités et sociétés en Egypte*, ed. Christian Décobert (Paris 2000), 107.

37 See Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541–1600)* (Princeton 1986); Veinstein, "Les Ottomans: variations sur une identité"; Salih Özbaran, "Ottomans as "Rumes" in Portuguese Sources in the Sixteenth Century," *Portuguese Studies* 17 (2002): 64–74; idem, *Bir Osmanlı Kimliği: 14.–17. Yüzyıllarda Rum/Rumi Aidiyet ve İmgeleri* (Istanbul 2004); Cemal Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 7–25. For an updated version of Cemal Kafadar's article in Turkish, see idem, *Kendine Ait bir Roma: Diyar-ı Rum'da Kültürel Coğrafya ve Kimlik Üzerine* (Istanbul 2017); On a rigorous study of the meaning of Rumi and Turk in the fifteenth and sixteenth century Syrian and Egyptian sources, see Benjamin Lellouch, "Qu'est-ce qu'un Turc? Égypte, Syrie, XVIe siècle," *European Journal of Turkish Studies* (online) (complete list, 2013), http://journals.openedition.org/ejts/4758 (accessed January 31, 2018). For Rumi architectural features, see Gülru Necipoğlu,"Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 169–180; eadem, "L'idée de décor dans les régimes de visualité islamiques," in *Pur Décors? Arts de l'Islam, regards du XIXe siècle: collections des Arts décoratifs*, ed. Rémi Labrusse (Paris 2007), 10–23; Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, "'In the Image of Rum': Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Aleppo and Damascus," *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 70–95; and Tülay Artan, "Questions of Ottoman Identity and Architectural History," in *Rethinking Architectural History*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Özkaya (London 2006), 85–109.

Rum /Rum İli, as the geopolitical and cultural setting of all the Turkish Muslim epics of this inquiry, is ascribed central value in these works. With few exceptions, however, scholars have not been interested in the depiction of Rum and Rum İli as a center of value or as a geopolitical space in the epics. Şevket Küçükhüseyin, who analyzed the depictions of the self and external perception in the process of cultural transformation based on the chronicles of Ibn Bibi and Aksarayi, the *Battalname*, and *Menakıbü'l Arifin*, has provided insight into what Rum meant for the authors of these texts.[38] Küçükhüseyin argues that Rum İli constituted a center of value for the Muslim authors of these sources, in which they positioned Rum as a special place, a center and world in its own right, home to immigrants coming from different parts of the Muslim world. Küçükhüseyin noted the depiction of Rum as a place of protection and liberation from the evils of the world and a transition zone from Christianity to Islam.[39] Yet he interpreted Rum (Roman land) and the Rumis (Romans) through the lens of the Muslim and Christian dichotomy and equated the Roman designation in the sources with being Christian, without addressing other parameters of Romanness.

The scholarship has not adequately considered the different elements inherent in Roman identity. Most frequently, the emphasis is on the religious and sometimes ethno-cultural aspect of being Roman; the political and territorial aspects are ignored or overlooked. Zeynep Aydoğan, in an article and in her Ph.D. dissertation, analyzed Rum as a geopolitical and cultural space and traced the definition of Rum İli and its borders in the Turkish Muslim epics of our inquiry. In interpreting her findings however, she did not deal with Roman identity, the territorial elements of Roman identity, and deliberately chose not to examine the Byzantines (Rums /Rumis) in the sources[40] because for Aydoğan, *Bilad al-Rum* (the land of Romans) in the epics mirrors *Bilad al-Islam* (the land of Islam), and the Byzantine/Roman *topoi* are devoid of any particularities, only used as a mirror for reflecting the self, as "negative identification."[41]

38 Şevket Küçükhüseyin, *Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung im Prozess Kultureller Transformation: Anatolische Quellen über Muslime, Christen und Türken (13.–15. Jahrhundert)* (Vienna 2011).

39 Ibid., 357–381.

40 For an analysis of the Roman topos in Turkish Muslim epics as enemies, companions and women /wife, see Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, "'Homo Byzantinus' in the Late Medieval Turkish Muslim Warrior Epics," *REB* 77 (2019): 117–147.

41 Zeynep Aydoğan, "Changing Perceptions along the Frontiers: The Moving Frontier with Rum in Late Medieval Anatolian Frontier Narratives," in *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries*, ed. Kent F. Schull and Christine Isom-Verhaaren (Bloomington 2016), 29–41; eadem, "Representations of Cultural Geography: The Late

The definition of Rhomania[42] as a geographical entity and the definition of being Roman[43] went through important changes between the thirteenth

Medieval Anatolian Frontier Narratives" (Ph.D. diss., Humboldt Universität Berlin, 2018), 129–131.

42 The earliest mentions of the word Rhomania to signify the territory of the Byzantine Empire is in the sixth-century chronicle of Malalas. The term found its way into imperial charters with increasing frequency in the twelfth century. In 1204, the Latins adopted the name Rhomania for the Latin Empire of Constantinople. As a result, the Byzantines virtually stopped using the term in official documents, with a few exceptions during the Palaiologan period. Popular use of the word Rhomania continued, a circumstance that Dimiter Angelov notes makes modern interpretations of its precise geographical reference difficult. Angelov, " 'Asia and Europe Commonly Called East and West,'" 52. For use of Rhomania and Romania to designate the Latin Empire of Constantinople after 1204, see Robert Lee Wolff, "Romania: The Latin Empire of Constantinople," *Speculum* 23, no. 1 (January 1948), 1–34. Anthony Kaldellis argues that there were two *oikoumene*s for the Byzantines. The first was Romania / Rhomania, the land of the Romans, which is the oikoumene in its own right. According to Kaldellis, when the Byzantines used the term oikoumene, they tended to mean Romania, and that in the Byzantine political texts, the term oikoumene refers to Romania, meaning that part of the world controlled by the imperial government. The second oikoumene is beyond the empire. See Anthony Kaldellis, "Did the Byzantine Empire Have 'Ecumenical' or 'Universal' Aspirations?" in *Ancient States and Infrastructural Power: Europe, Asia and America*, ed. Clifford Ando and Seth Richardson (Philadelphia 2017), 272–301, esp. 279–285.

43 The traditional definition of Byzantine identity has been under scrutiny in recent years. John Haldon points out that there were many subtypes of "Roman": "The population of the empire was divided horizontally by economic and social divisions as much as it was divided geographically by local identities, vertically by lines of patronage, affiliation and community, as well as by ties of blood and kinship, real or imagined." John F. Haldon, *The Empire That Would Not Die: The Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640–740* (Cambridge, MA, 2016), 17n40. On the other hand, Anthony Kaldellis has argued that Roman identity represented a horizontal and self-aware national community in which all who were above the level of slavery and who conformed to the relevant ethnic indicia were considered Romans. See Anthony Kaldellis, "The Social Scope of Roman Identity in Byzantium: An Evidence-Based Approach," *Byzantina Symmeikta* 27 (2017): 173–210. See Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (New York 2009); idem, "From Rome to New Rome, from Empire to Nation-State: Reopening the Question of Byzantium's Roman Identity," in *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly (Oxford 2012), 387–404. Ioannis Stouraitis argues that Romanness was a construction of the educated elite. On this and a comprehensive summary of the current debates and literature on the question of Byzantine identity, see Ioannis Stouraitis, "Roman Identity in Byzantium: A Critical Approach," *BZ* 107, no. 1 (2014): 175–220. Kaldellis proposed that Byzantium was not an empire but a nation-state and that the medieval *Rhomaion politeia* was a monarchical republic (*res publica*) whose operative political ideology and political practice were defined by popular sovereignty. For Kaldellis' answer to Stouraitis' article "Roman Identity in Byzantium," see Kaldellis, "The Social Scope of Roman Identity in Byzantium." Kaldellis's argument has been challenged by John F. Haldon, "Res Republica? State Formation

and fifteenth centuries. With the exception of a work by Rustam Shukurov, who has examined the accommodation of the Turks within the Byzantine oikoumene between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries,[44] changes in Byzantine identity and culture have been analyzed only in relation to the events in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade and the loss of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204.[45]

In this study, the Turkish Muslim epics and the Byzantine martyria are brought together not in regard to a religious space, as has been the tendency, but on a broader geopolitical and cultural space, the land of Rome, the story-world of these texts. The analysis looks at how this geopolitical, social and cultural space is imagined and how its appropriation is historicized by the Turkish Muslim groups and the Byzantines. It focuses on the Romans not only as Christians, but also considers other elements of Romanness reflected by the stories to trace the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion and to better understand the perception of the transformation of Byzantine lands and Byzantine identity as a result of Muslim conquests, settlement and political rule. It addresses the meanings of Muslim, Turk, Christian, and Roman, in terms of perception of

and Issues and Identity in Medieval East Rome," *BMGS* 40, no. 1 (2016): 4–16. Haldon criticizes Kaldellis' thesis for downplaying the political structures and the social and material conditions into which the reproduction of Roman republican tropes in the political discourse of the Byzantine elite was embedded. For a recent positioning of the issue of collective identity in Byzantine society within a broader discussion of identity, ethnicity, and nationhood before modernity, see Ioannis Stouraitis, "Reinventing Roman Ethnicity in High and Late Medieval Byzantium," *Medieval Worlds* 5 (2017): 70–94.

44 Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks, 1204–1461.*

45 On the redefinition of Byzantine identity after 1204, see Steven Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance* (Cambridge 1970), 15–23; Michael Angold, "Byzantine Nationalism and the Nicaean Empire," *BMGS* 1 (1975): 49–70; Paul Magdalino, "Hellenism and Nationalism in Byzantium," in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium*, study XIV (Aldershot 1991); Ruth Macrides and Paul Magdalino, "The Fourth Kingdom and the Rhetoric of Hellenism," in *The Perception of the Past in 12th-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino (London 1992), 117–156; *Byzance et l'hellénisme: l'identité grecque au Moyen Âge. Actes du congrès international tenu à Trieste du 1er au 3 octobre 1997*, ed. Paolo Odorico (Paris 1999); Dimiter Angelov, "Byzantine Ideological Reactions to the Latin Conquest of Constantinople," in *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and Its Consequences*, ed. Angeliki Laiou (Paris 2005), 293–310; idem, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330* (New York 2007). For the history and "question" of Hellenism in Byzantium, see Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium.* On regional identities after 1204, see Antony Eastmond, "Art and Regional Identity in the Orthodox World after the Fourth Crusade," *Speculum* 78, no. 3 (2003): 707–749; idem, *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium*; Gill Page, *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity Before the Ottomans, 1200–1420* (New York 2008); Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain, eds., *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (Farnham 2011).

"us," and "them" and traces the social and cultural frontiers establishing views on us versus them.

The study highlights the complex relationships between the character of specific places and the cultural identities of the people who inhabited them when the newcomers made Byzantine space their own and how the Byzantines reacted by re-appropriating the same space. It demonstrates how and why the authors of the narratives, who represent only a subset of their own cultural group, provide and impose new meanings on their communities concerning place and homeland. It is hoped that the study improves the understanding of mechanisms by which "imagined communities came to be attached to an imagined place, as some of the displaced created new homelands and others clustered around remembered or imagined homelands, places, and communities."[46]

This is done by searching for clues in each source concerning four major themes: the *land of Rome,* examining similarities and differences in how this center of value is depicted; *frontiers,* analyzing the political and territorial frontiers of the land of Rome and the social and cultural frontiers between "us and them"; *us,* determining ways in which the group represented by the hero is depicted; and *them,* looking at the ways in which the adversaries of the hero are represented.

The ultimate desire of the heroes of these epics is to conquer Rum. How then do the Turkish Muslim epics define the land of Rome, Rum İli or Rum? In the Byzantine martyria, what is the geopolitical space that determines the territorial element of the heroes' identities? Do these terms stem from a well-demarcated geopolitical, social, and cultural space? If so, how are the geopolitical, social, and cultural frontiers of the Roman space represented and why? What are the specific areas within the stories' land of Rome in which encounters take place between the protagonists and their antagonists? How are the protagonists and antagonists identified with regard to the land of Rome? Are there differences in the tropes of the heroes and their adversaries and if so why? To which social milieu do the protagonists and antagonists belong? Are they nomads, warriors, religious men, urban dwellers, rich or poor, elites or common people?

46 On imagined communities, see Benedict Anderson, *Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York 1983). For discussion on "imagined places" in the contemporary world and the relationship between place and culture, see Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, "Space, Identity and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1992): 6–23, especially 10–11.

3 Organization of the Book

The historical conquest of Byzantine territories by Turkish Muslim groups, their settlement on this land, and the political and cultural transformation of the political and cultural Byzantine space were not linear processes, but the epics about it adopt linear narratives to trace the change from Byzantine Rum into a Turkish Muslim space in terms of the conquering and transformation of its landscape and its people along a time, space, and thematic continuum. All three epics are connected through constructed ancestral ties between Seyyid Battal, hero of the *Battalname*; Ahmed Danişmend, hero of the *Danişmendname;* and Sarı Saltuk, hero of the *Saltukname*.

The stories of the legendary Abbasid, Muslim Arab hero Seyyid Battal and his confrontations with the Byzantines along the Taurus and Anti-Taurus Mountains in the ninth and tenth centuries emerged first, followed by the epic about the historical figure Ahmed Danişmend (d. 1104)—a Turkish emir who founded an emirate in the late eleventh, early twelfth century—which relates Danişmend's military exploits and his establishment of a Muslim presence within Rum, in Cappadocia and the western Pontic regions. These were followed by the life and deeds of the legendary warrior-dervish Sarı Saltuk, who is believed to have become the leader of the first Turkish Muslim settlers in the Balkans in the thirteenth century.

The organization of the book follows a structure suggestive of the three stories examined. While first chapter examines the *Battalname* and the *Danişmendname*,the second chapter begins with the first martyrdom story that took place in 1230 in Cyprus under Latin rule and is related to the period on the aftermath of the arrival of the Seljuks of Rum in 1221 to Kalon Oros under the Seljuk ruler Alaeddin Keykubad I (r. 1219–1237), the grandfather of Izzeddin Keykavus II (r. 1245–1262), the patron of the *Danişmendname*. Beginning with this martyrdom story, the martyria are organized chronologically according to the date of the martyrdom event, ending with one from 1437 under Ottoman rule. The third chapter examines the *Saltukname* and the dervish vitas on Abdalan-ı Rum, whose stories are connected to the realities of the fifteenth-century Ottoman political and cultural space. In this regard, the book is divided into three parts centered on the role identities of the protagonists in the epics and the Byzantine martyria: warrior, martyr, and dervish.

Chapter 1, "Warriors," examines the stories of the two warriors in the *Battalname* and the *Danişmendname*. The first part of the chapter looks at the *Battalname*. Although chronologically its story belongs to the ninth / tenth century Muslim Arab confrontations, its hero, Seyyid Battal, is referenced to as the ancestor of the heroes of both the *Danişmendname* and the *Saltukname*.

Hence the *Battalname* is the basis for comparison with the other Turkish Muslim warrior epics.

The second part of Chapter 1 analyses the *Danişmendname*, which relates the military exploits of Ahmed Danişmend during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. It offers a new reading of the *Danişmendname*, including a re-examination of the parameters of identity within the text. A nuanced horizontal reading through analyses of the characters and their movements in the land of Rome beyond ethnocentric and religious definitions helps in understanding how inclusion and exclusion might have been understood within the complex cultural engagement and political fracturing of late medieval Anatolia. Special attention is paid to love affairs and food—, which are frequent themes in the text—. It is argued that while love affairs and women are crucial in this epic in crossing the political, social and cultural frontiers of the Byzantine space, food and commensality are also emphasized for drawing new political and cultural borders to distinguish between "us" and "them." The last part of Chapter 2 examines the historical figure, who might have inspired the fictive Ahmed Danişmend.

Chapter 2, "Martyrs," analyses martyria (martyrdom narratives) as a corpus within the late Byzantine historical context. The plots of these stories transpire outside the political borders of the Byzantine Empire, but their heroes are considered representatives of the "Byzantines," who confront "foreigners" and "outsiders." The stories of nine people martyred under Muslim, Latin, and Lithuanian domination are examined.

In the late Byzantine martyria analyzed, most of the martyrs are commoners so it is not possible to trace the historical figures who might have inspired the fictional characters. In most instances, the authors are known and the time lag between the martyrdom event and the production of the story in written form was relatively short, so one can make connections between the relation of the literary world presented and the real-historical world's geopolitical, social, and cultural space. The first part of Chapter 2 analyzes the martyria in relation to authorship and is divided into five subsections according to when the martyria were recorded: the Nicene Empire (1204–1261), the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328), the liberation of the city of Philadelphia (1348), the reign of the hesychast patriarchs (1347–1397), and the eve of the Council of Ferrara–Florence (1437–1439).

The second part of the chapter explores the land of Rome and its frontiers as depicted in the martyria. The discourse of the martyria authors in reinterpreting the parameters of membership in the Byzantine community and the characteristics they attribute to its members are also be examined. Contrary to Zachariadou's assertions, it is argued that the evidence in the late Byzantine

martyrdom narratives does not allow one to speak of a clear boundary between the political choices of the Byzantine state and the Byzantine church toward the Ottoman presence on former Byzantine lands. The emphasis in this chapter is on Byzantine identity, which was perceived by the Constantinopolitan elites as rooted in intricately woven political, religious, geographical, and personal characteristics.

Chapter 3, "Dervishes," analyses the *Saltukname* and the vitas of the Abdalan-ı Rum dervishes. The hero of this warrior epic, Sarı Saltuk, demonstrates similarities with Abdalan-ı Rum dervishes, as depicted in their vitas, in terms of his attitude toward cities and his nomadic background. Nomadism, perspectives on cities and frontiers (zones of encounter in the sources), tensions between the groups that Saltuk represents and the Ottoman center, and tensions between Muslim city dwellers and Sarı Saltuk are all subjects of inquiry. The *Book of Dedem of Korkut* is examined for assessing differences between the social milieu of the protagonists, attitudes toward Rum, and infidels. *Menakıbü'l Arifin*, the vita of Baba İlyas and Şeyh Bedreddin and the warrior epic *Düsturname* are analyzed in assessing semiotic shifts in the terms Turk, gazi, and Rumi.

CHAPTER 1

Warriors

1 Introduction

A local tradition of heroic storytelling had thrived on the frontier zones between Byzantium and Islam and survived through such works as the Byzantine *Digenes Akrites* and Arabic *Sirat Delhemma*.[1] According to Yorgos Dedes, the oral roots of the *Battalname* may go as far back as the arrival of the Danishmendid Turks in Malatya (Melitene) in the twelfth century.[2] The Turkish newcomers, especially the leaders of the Danishmendid dynasty, who controlled Malatya for the better part of the twelfth century, took an interest in local Muslim legends and associated themselves with the local heroes, thus creating continuity with the Muslim Arab past.[3]

At the time that the Danishmendids took an interest in traditional local heroes, the Mediterranean world in general and Byzantine society in particular had become highly militarized. Emblematic of this was the Crusades, which greatly affected eastern Mediterranean culture, including Muslim and Byzantine societies.[4] It comes as no surprise that post-eleventh century Muslims, the Byzantines, and the crusaders all produced warrior epics.[5]

The *Battalname*, *Danişmendname,* and *Saltukname*—Turkish Muslim warrior epics about the conquest of the land of Rome by Muslim groups—reveal how the conquest and transformation of land of Rome and its people

1 For *Digenes Akrites*, see Jeffreys, *Digenis Akritis;* For *Sirat Delhemma*, see Marius Canard, *Byzance et les musulmanes du Proche Orient* (London 1973), studies II, III, and VIII. Also see idem, "Dhu'l Himma," *EI*[2] 2: 233–239.

2 Dedes, *Battalname*, 1:1–3.

3 Ibid., 1:9–10.

4 Robert Irwin, "Islam and the Crusades, 1096–1699," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford 1995), 217–259. For the effect of Crusades on the legitimization of Ottoman warfare by appeals to faith and calls for holy war, see Darling, "Contested Territory," 138, who notes that the Ottoman conquests took place between two major crusading phases.

5 For instance, see Jeffreys, *Digenis Akritis*; Gerard J. Brault, *The Song of Roland* (University Park, PA, 1984); Bernard Guidot, *La chanson d'Antioche: chanson du geste du dernier quart du XIIe siècle* (Paris 2011); Nigel R. Thorp, *The Old French Crusade Cycle 6: La Chanson de Jerusalem* (London 1992); Lesley Byrd Simpson, *The Poem of the Cid* (Berkeley 2006). On the appearance of literature promoting military aristocracy between ninth and twelfth centuries, see Kyle James Sinclair, "*War Writing in Middle Byzantine Historiography: Sources, Influences and Trends"* (Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 2012).

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between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries have been imagined and represented by Turkish Muslims. This chapter examines the *Battalname* and the *Danişmendname*, in terms of the representation of the land of Rome, the geopolitical and sociocultural nature of the frontiers and the parameters of identity, which separate "us" from "them." The analysis of the *Battalname* in the first part of the chapter serves as the basis for understanding the moving frontiers and shifting identities in the *Danişmendname*, which are discussed in the second part of the chapter.

The protagonist of the *Battalname*, Seyyid Battal, is a pseudo-historical Arab warrior of Muslim faith, who serves under the ninth-century Abbasid emir of Malatya. The frontier and events in the *Battalname* are set within the historical context of Arab confrontation with Byzantium during the ninth / tenth century.[6] The *Danişmendname* narrates the military exploits of Ahmed Danişmend (d. 1104), a Turkish warrior probably from today's Azerbaijan. He established an emirate in the late eleventh century in Asia Minor and ruled the cities of Sivas (Sebasteia), Tokat (Eudoxias), Komana, Amasya (Amaseia), Niksar (Neokaisareia), where he resided, and Çankırı (Gangra). Later in his reign, in 1102, he conquered the strategic Franco-Armenian city of Melitene.[7] The *Saltukname* recounts the life and deeds of legendary warrior-dervish Sarı Saltuk, who is believed to have followed the Seljuk Sultan Izzeddin Keykavus II, the patron of

6 Marius Canard, "Al-Battal," *EI²* 1:1102–1104. Dedes, *Battalname,* 1:1–25.

7 Little evidence survives of the origins and activities of Ahmed Danişmend and the Danishmendid dynasty beyond a few monuments and monumental inscriptions, copper coins and seals, and references from Syriac, Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Byzantine chronicles gathered by the following scholars, who have constructed the outline of events connected with the dynasty: Claude Cahen, "Premiere pénétration turque en Asie Mineur," *Byzantion* 18 (1948): 5–67; idem, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, 27–54; Osman Turan, "Les souverains seldjoukides et leurs sujets non-musulmans," *Studia Islamica* 1 (1953): 72–74; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye Tarihi* (Istanbul 1984), 120–132; Mélikoff, *La Geste de Danişmend*, 1:71–101; eadem, "Danishmendids," *EI²* 2:110–111; Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, "Danişmendliler," *İA* 3:468–470; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi: Selçuklular Devri-I. Anadolu'nun Fethi* (Istanbul 1944), 89–103. For Danishmendid monuments, inscription, and coins, Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Kitabeleri*, 2 vols. (Istanbul 1927–1929); Albert Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie* (*Kayseri, Niğde*), vol. 1 (Paris 1931); idem, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie* (*Amasya, Tokat, Sivas*), vol. 2 (Paris 1934); Abdullah Kuran, "Tokat ve Niksar'da Yağıbasan Medreseleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 7 (1968): 39–43; Baha Tanman, "Danişmendliler, Mimari," *TDVİA* 8:474–477; for Danishmendid coins and seals, Estelle J. Whelan, "A Contribution to Danishmendid History: The Figured Copper Coins," *ANSMN* 25 (1980): 133–166; Oikonomides, "Les Danishmendides, entre Byzance, Bagdad et le sultanat d'Iconium;" Shukurov, "Turkmen and Byzantine Self- Identity;" idem, "Christian Elements in the Identity of the Anatolian Turkmens (12th–13th Centuries)."

the *Danişmendname*, into exile in 1262 and become the leader of the first Turkish-Muslim settlers in the Balkans in the thirteenth century.[8]

While the frontier and events in the *Battalname* are set within the historical context of Arab confrontation with Byzantium during the early Abbasid period in the middle of the ninth century, the victorious adventures of the heroes of the *Danişmendname* and the *Saltukname* are set within the context of the post- eleventh century Turkish advance on Byzantium. The Turkish Muslim heroes of both the *Danişmendname*, and the *Saltukname* refer to Seyyid Battal, the hero of the *Battalname*, as their ancestor, and they legitimize their actions and ambitions vis-à-vis the land of Rome in the late eleventh/twelfth and thirteenth centuries, respectively, as a continuation of Abbasid-Muslim expansion in the land of Rome during the ninth century.

The three Turkish-Muslim epics consist of multiple stories and adventures in the form of successive and independent episodes that create biographies of a sort of the heroes, but rather than focusing on the heroes per se, they emphasize actions and events. Some exciting battle scenes and monster slayings recur, and comic relief appears here and there. Despite the narrations beginning with birth and ending with the death of the hero, the narrated events do not constitute a whole or follow a linear sequence of beginning, middle, and end. All the warrior epics in question also have common themes. They all share the desire to conquer the land of Rome. The hero embarks on campaigns against the infidels—usually, but not always Byzantines—under the sanction of the caliph. Numerous women appear, and Byzantine princesses or women convert to Islam and marry either the hero or one of his companions. The hero sometimes has supernatural powers.

The storylines are not, however, copy and paste topoi. There are differences among them according to the historical contexts of each narrative. The way the heroes move and act along the frontier or in the land of Rome, the nature of the frontier, of populated centers, and the role of the centers with regard to the heroes actions, the character of the antagonists, companions, and the role of Byzantine women all vary in the narratives. One can detect a conscious

8 For Izzeddin Keykavus II and his exile in Constantinople and then in Dobrudja and Crimea, see Chapter 1, Part 2. For analysis of the sources and of the historiography on the first Turkish-Muslim settlements in the Balkans and in Dobrudja, see Paul Wittek, "Yazijioghli Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobrudja," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14, no.2 (1952): 639–668; Aurel Decei, " Le problème de la colonisation des Turcs seljoukides dans la Dobrogea au XIIIe siècle, " *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 10–11 (1968): 85–111; Machiel Kiel, "The Türbe of Sarı Saltık in Babadag—Rumanian Dobrudja—Some Remarks on its Historical Importance and Present Condition," *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6 (1978): 205–225.

choice by the storytellers, compilers or authors in selecting a particular Byzantine character closely linked to the Byzantine political structure and power dynamics in the Byzantine political space of each epic. How variations in common themes—i.e., the land of Rome, the frontiers, "us," (the companions), and "them," (the enemy)—reflect the Byzantine political structures and the differences in the identity of the heroes will be first examined in the *Battalname* and then in the *Danişmendname*.

The heroes of the epic narratives exist in a heavily militarized environment. In this milieu, there is great respect for chivalrous actors (*pehlivan*), even if they belong to the "infidel" group. In all the stories, one of these chivalrous but infidel warriors becomes the companion-in-arms of the hero and joins his cause. The central encounter is between the military classes. In the Turkish Muslim warrior epics, being militaristic a quality shared by all parties, did not necessarily set one apart from the "other."

All three Turkish-Muslim epics are curious and difficult texts, full of complexities and discrepancies. In the *Battalname*, although the events take place in the ninth /tenth century Abbasid period, one perceives traces of the raider-commander families of the Ottoman Empire, who were patrons in the renovation of the convent of Seyyid Battal, and who were most likely involved in the recording of the epic in written form in the fifteenth century.[9] In the case of the *Danişmendname*, in which the hero is a historical figure, the information provided in the narrative can only minimally be used in constructing and supplementing what is known of Ahmed Danişmend and his actions.

Most of the events, characters, and titles in these epics are in fact a collective memory of events and historical characters from different periods and borrowings from earlier Muslim heroic epics.[10] In a very general sense, the conquests of the cities in the land of Rome in the *Danişmendname* correspond to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, but there are backward projections from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Anatolia, when the epic was compiled in various iterations. In the *Saltukname*, the stories involve Turkish settlements in the Balkans and Crimea at the end of the thirteenth century but again there are backward projections from the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Ottoman world. As the earliest extant manuscript copy of the *Battalname* dates to the fifteenth century, that of the *Danişmendname* and the

9 For the raider-commander families of the Ottoman Empire, who were patrons in the renovation of the convent of Seyyid Battal, and were most probably involved in the production of the fifteenth- century manuscript of the *Battalname*, see Zeynep Yürekli Görkay, *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of the Bektashi Shrines in the Classical Age* (Farnham 2012).

10 Marius Canard, "Delhemma, Sayyid Battal et Omar al-Noman," *Byzantion* 12 (1937): 183–188.

Saltukname to the sixteenth century, it is not always possible to securely trace these projections.[11]

The earliest compilation of the stories about Ahmed Danişmend, which was written by Mevlana Ibn Ala at the behest of Izzeddin Keykavus II, is now lost.[12] The earliest extant manuscript copy at hand is the one written by a fortress commander (*kale dizdarı*) of Tokat,[13] Arif Ali, who revised Ibn Ala's text around 1360/61, adding verses and dividing it into chapters.[14] In the sixteenth century, Ottoman poet, historian and civil servant Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali (d. 1600) recopied and renamed the *Danişmendname*.[15]

Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, the third compiler of the *Danişmendname*, is the one who provides the date 1244/45 for the commissioning of the first written text of the *Danişmendname* by Mevlana Ibn Ala. Although both Mélikoff and Demir, *Danişmendname* experts, have doubts about that date, they do associate the text with Izzeddin Keykavus II. Demir contends that it is impossible to identify an exact date, while Mélikoff states,

11 For the edition of the manuscript of the *Battalname*, see Dedes, *Battalname*, vol. 2. On the manuscript tradition of the *Battalname*, see Pertev N. Boratav, "Battal," *İA* 2:344–350; Canard, "Delhemma, Sayyid Battal et Omar al-Noman," 187; Dedes, *Battalname*, 1:10–13.

12 On Izzeddin Keykavus II, see Claude Cahen, "Kaykaus," *EI*[2] 4:813–814; idem, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, 230–255, 276; Osman Turan, "Keykavus II," *İA* 6:642–645; Faruk Sümer, "Keykavus II," *TDVİA* 25:355–357; Rustam Shukurov, "Semeistvo 'Izz al-Dina Kai-Kavusa II v Vizantii," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 67 (2008): 90–96; idem, "Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes," in *Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. Andrew C. S Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (London 2012), 116–120, 127–129, 133–134; idem, "Sultan 'Izz al-Din Kaykawus II in Byzantium (1262–1264/1265)," in *Der Doppeladler: Byzanz und die Seldschuken in Anatolien vom späten 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger and Falko Daim (Mainz 2014), 39–52; idem, *The Byzantine Turks*, 97–125.

13 The city at that time was part of the principality of Eretna. Alaeddin Eretna, a chief of Uyghur origin, obtained his fortune in Asia Minor as an heir of the Ilkhanid regime. The descendants of the emir Eretna ruled over what were once Danishmendid regions, between 1335 and 1381, when Burhaneddin Kadı took control. On Eretna, see Claude Cahen, "Eretna," *EI*[2] 2:705–707; Kemal Göde, "Eretnaoğulları," *TDVİA* 11:295–296.

14 Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*; Demir, *Danişmendname*. Mélikoff was the first to publish a critical edition of Arif Ali's work, translated in French, with a long commentary. It remains as the major reference for the *Danişmendname*. Demir prepared a critical edition of Arif Ali's text in 2002 after having found eight additional manuscripts. Demir's edition serves as the source for this study.

15 Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 132–133. On Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali's *Danişmendname*, see *Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali. Mirkatü'l Cihat* (*Cihadın Basamakları*), ed. Ali Akar (Ankara 2016). On Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, see Jan Schmidt, "Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali," *EI*[3], http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_27393 (accessed May 24, 2019).

> D'après le témoignage d'Arif Ali [second compiler of the text, fourteenth century], Mevlana Ibn Ala [first compiler of the text, thirteenth century] en faisait le récit au sultan Izzeddin. Le chroniqueur Ali [Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, third compiler of the text, sixteenth century] précise qu'elle fut composée en 642/1245 et que le sultan pour qui elle fut composée était Izzeddin Keykavus, fils de Gıyaseddin Keyhusrev. Mais il est possible qu'Ali [Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali] trouvant dans la geste la mention d'Izzeddin Keykavus II, ait simplement reproduit la date d'avènement d'Izzeddin Keykavus II, soit 642.[16]

Arif Ali's text points to certain events that are useful in understanding the approximate periods when the stories of Ahmed Danişmend began circulating orally and when they were recorded by Ibn Ala. At the end of Arif Ali's text, only two Danishmendid rulers are mentioned as being successors of Ahmed Danişmend: Gazi Gümüştekin (d. 1134), son of Ahmed Danişmend and Yağıbasan (d. 1164), son of Gazi Gümüştekin.[17] This suggests that the circulation of the stories of Ahmed Danişmend as oral tradition may well correspond to the reigns of these two Danishmendid rulers.[18]

The epilogue of the narrative lists the Seljuk sultans of Rum. According to the epilogue, after Gıyaseddin, his son, Izzeddin Keykavus II succeeded him,

16 Demir, *Danişmendname,* 3: 1; Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 1: 55–56.

17 "Melik Gazi Beg'ün oglı vücuda geldügi içün adını Melik Yağı Basan kodılar … (Melik Gazi Beg) Niksar'da binalar yapdı. Atası Melik Danişmend için tekyeler ve şühedaya gürhaneler bina itdi … Ol dahı dünyadan göçdi. Oğlı Melik Yağı Basan tahta geçüp oturdı." Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:209–210; Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 1:455.

18 Upon the death of Ahmed Danişmend, his eldest son, Gazi Gümüştekin (r. 1104–1134), succeeded him. After Gazi Gümüştekin's death, one of his sons, Melik Muhammed (r. 1134–1142), became emir. Upon Melik Muhammed's demise, the family split into three branches, with capitals at Sivas, Malatya, and Kayseri. Yağıbasan (r. 1142–1164), brother of Melik Muhammed, reigned in Sivas; Aynüddevle, another brother of Melik Muhammed (r. 1142–1152), in Malatya; and Zünnun (r. 1142–1168), son of Melik Muhammed, in Kayseri. The Seljuks of Rum sometimes upheld and sometimes opposed the interests of the three rival branches, but the dynasty survived as long as Yağıbasan lived. With his death in 1164, dynastic quarrels provided Kılıç Arslan II (r. 1156–1192) the opportunity to gradually destroy the dynasty's emirate. The Seljuk's occupation of Malatya in 1178 marked the end of the Danishmendids, whose former territories would then be called Danişmendiye in the Seljuk sources. The Danishmendid princes took refuge in the western marches of Anatolia for twenty years, until 1205, when after having helped Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev I (r. 1192–1196 / 1205–1211) retake his throne from his brother, the Danishmendid princes were returned some of their lands and honored with titles. See Mélikoff, "Danishmendids." For the genealogy of the dynasty, see Whelan, "A Contribution to Danishmendid History," 134–135. Also see Oikonomides, " Les Danishmendides, entre Byzance, Bagdad et le sultanat d'Iconium," 197.

followed by Rükneddin.[19] Given the enumeration of the sultans of the Seljuk of Rum in the epilogue of Arif Ali's *Danişmendname*, which ends with Rükneddin Kılıç Ali Arslan IV (r. 1246–1249, 1256/57, 1262–1265),[20] the brother and rival of Izzeddin Keykavus II, Mélikoff argues that the *terminus ante quem* for the date of the production of the first compiled *Danişmendname* by Mevlana Ibn Ala should be 1265, as Rükneddin Kılıç Ali Arslan IV was murdered that year by the Mongols.[21] The text was thus apparently written when Rükneddin ruled alone, between 1261/62 and 1265, during which time Izzeddin was in exile in Constantinople or the Crimea.[22]

The copy of Arif Ali makes mention of the audience, indicating that it was read or performed in front of Izzeddin Keykavus II and his retinue. [23] According Irène Mélikoff, the stories related to Ahmed Danişmend's relations with the local natives-i.e., the Byzantines, Armenians and Georgians- are an integral part of the Ibn Ala's layer.[24] Arif Ali, without changing much of the original text, connected the Danishmendid epic to the story of Seyyid Battal and hence made it part of the gazi milieu literature.[25]

2 Part 1: *The Battalname*

2.1 *Land of Rome and Frontiers*

The *Battalname* opens with a scene in which the author recounts the "legendary" story of how and why the Muslims became interested in the land of Rome, or Rum. One day, Prophet Muhammad expresses his concern that the archangel Gabriel has not revealed a divine verse to him for some time and asks his companions to tell a cheerful story to keep him occupied. One of his companions, Abdülvehhab, stands and describes Rum.

19 Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend,* 2:283: "Anun yerine Gıyasseddin oturdı. Anun yerine İzzeddin oturdı. Anun yerine Rükneddin oturdı." Demir, *Danişmendname,* 1:210.

20 On Rükneddin Kılıç Ali Arslan IV, see Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, 255; idem, "Kilidj Arslan IV," *EI*[2] 5:104. The Ilkhanids gave Rükneddin the right, between 1257 and 1262, to rule the eastern provinces of the Seljuk lands, which in fact corresponded to the lands of the Danishmendids (Danişmendiye). Izzeddin Keykavus II controlled the western part, including from Konya to Antalya.

21 Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 1:59–60.

22 See Shukurov, "Sultan 'Izz al-Din Kaykawus II in Byzantium."

23 Melikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 1:55: "Raviler şöyle rivayet ederler kim Melik Danişmend kıssası Şah-ı Izzeddin katında şöyle haber verdiler."

24 Ibid., 1:140.

25 Ibid., 1:64, 139.

> Apostle of God, I travelled far and wide and visited many climes, but of all the places I have seen, I never saw a place like the land of Rum. Its towns are close to each other, its rivers are full of water, its springs are gushing, its air is pleasant, its game is slender, its food is abundant and its people are extremely friendly, except they are all infidels (*küffar*). Hopefully God shall grant this province to the Muslims.[26]

Muhammad likes what he hears about Rum, and at that moment Gabriel descends from the heavens. The archangel says that God grants that province to Muhammad, God's apostle, and to his community so they shall pull down the monasteries and set up mosques and madrasas in their places. Gabriel also prophesizes that someone named Cafer, later to be known as Seyyid Battal, will learn by heart the four sacred books[27] and shall be the conqueror of Rum. He will open the gates of Istanbul and "roast the livers of the priests."[28]

Cafer's father, Hüseyin, is the commander of the military post in Malatya.[29] One learns that Hüseyin receives tribute and gifts from Caesar, the Byzantine emperor, in exchange for not leading expeditions against Rum. Hüseyin is also a hunter, and three days into a hunt, he sees a gazelle, tracks it, and wounds it. The gazelle belongs to Mihriyayil, the infidel ruler of Mamuriye (Byzantine Amorion).[30] Mihriyayil's army kills Hüseyin.[31] Ten years later, when Cafer is thirteen, he decides to avenge his father's death and demands that the

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26 English translation, Dedes, *Battalname*, 1:99, line P1.

27 The "four books" are the revealed scriptures of the monotheistic faiths, Tevrat / *al Tawrat* (the Torah), Zebur / *al-Zabur* (the Psalms), İncil / *al-Indjil* (the Gospel), and the Qur'an. The term *ahl al-kitab* (possessors of the scripture or the people of the book) is used in the Qur'an to denote the repositories of the early revealed books. They have a legal status as protected persons (*ahl al-dhimma*) in Muslim communities. For ahl al-kitab, see Georges Vajda, "Ahl al-Kitab," *EI*² 1:264–266. On four books, also see commentaries in, Dedes, *Battalname*, 2:611.

28 Ibid., 2:336–337, line P1.

29 Malatya (Melitene), the eastern most city in greater Cappadocia, was a strategic, fortified city situated on the eastern end of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus border zone stretching between the Muslims and the Byzantine Empire from the seventh to the eleventh century. See Clive Foss, "Melitene," *ODB* 2:1336; Ernst Honigmann, "Malatya," *EI*² 6:230; Friedrich Hild and Marcell Restle, *Kappadokien* (*Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandos*) (Vienna 1981), 233–237; Eugenia Schneider Equini, *Malatya II: Rapporto preliminare delle champagne, 1963–1968. Il livello romano-bizantino e le testimonianze islamiche* (Rome 1970); Michael Decker, "Frontier Settlement and Economy in the Byzantine East," *DOP* 61 (2007): 232–234, 245–246; Asa Eger, *The Islamic-Byzantine Frontier: Interaction and Exchange among Muslim and Christian Communities* (London 2014), 102–124.

30 For Dedes's comments on Mamuriye (Amorion), see Dedes, *Battalname*, 2:613.

31 Ibid., 2:341–344, lines A4–9.

Byzantines provide him tribute and other gifts. When they refuse to do so, he enters Rum, arrives at Mamuriye, and kills Mihriyayil along with fourteen of his begs (lords).[32] The Mamuriye expedition will be one of Seyyid Battal's two long-distance expeditions into Rum. Despite the prophesy that he will pull down the monasteries and churches and build madrasas and mosques in their place, he will find the frontiers of Rum blocked by order of the Byzantine emperor.

Battal's base remains Malatya throughout the narrative, and most of what he does takes place in relative proximity to the city. Among the exceptions, he arrives at the gates of Constantinople with the army of Islam, enters the city, saves a friend from prison, destroys a number of churches, and builds a mosque.[33] At one point, to be able to marry the daughter of Emir Ömer, who is demanding a substantial dowry in exchange for his daughter's hand, Battal is miraculously transported to India to bring Ömer a white elephant, white and black camels and Arabian, Tatar, and Indian horses with jewel-studded saddles ridden by virgin boys and girls.[34] He also goes to an infidel city near Alexandria to convert its ruler and begs and takes them back to Malatya.[35] He visits a Jewish city in the Maghrib and converts its inhabitants to Islam.[36] He travels to extraterrestrial realms, such as Mount Qaf, on whose feet stands the tomb of Alexander the Great.[37]

Although there are references in the *Battalname* to the early periods of the Arab–Byzantine confrontation and also to later periods of it, such as the Crusades, and to fifteenth-century "gazi values," the sack of Amorion and information on Tarsus being in the hands of non-Muslims reflect the Arab-Byzantine frontier of the ninth and tenth centuries.[38] Stories in the *Battalname* include

32 Ibid., 2:344–355, lines P7–A15. Henri Grégoire, "L'épopée byzantine et ses rapports avec l'épopée turque et l'épopée romane," *Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* 17 (1931): 469, interpreted the campaign as an echo of the Arab sack of Amorion in 838.

33 Dedes, *Battalname*, 2:538–544, lines A322–333, and on Battal's entrance to Constantinople, see the comments by Dedes, 2:656–657.

34 Ibid., 2:499–510, lines A244–268.

35 Ibid., 2:411–413, lines A97–101.

36 For the story of Firdevs Şah the Jew, the ruler of the Jewish city in the Maghrib, see ibid., 2:413–424, lines A101–121.

37 Ibid., 2:570–574, lines A387–396.

38 For a story that can be tied to the Crusade period, as Franks are mentioned, see ibid., 2:401–402, line A80–81. On this story, see also the comments by Dedes, ibid., 627–628. On Tarsus being under infidel rule, see ibid., 2:390–391, line A62. On Dedes's comments on Tarsus also see ibid., 2:624–625. Gazi values of the fifteenth century are evidenced by the positive value attached to Battal's attitude with regard to the booty that he acquires in the raids. Battal never keeps it for himself, but instead distributes it to dervishes and gazis

descriptions on the nature of the frontier zone, noting for instance that the Byzantine emperor set up milestones to demarcate the frontier:

> Those days Caesar of Rum was such a coward at heart that he used to set up seven milestones out of his fear for Hüseyin and then made an agreement with Hüseyin that he should not go beyond these milestones. Every year the Caesar used to send tribute or rather gifts and presents. Hüseyin on his part did not venture out that side.[39]

In fact, Hüseyin was killed because he had trespassed these milestones when hunting and wounding Mihriyayil's gazelle, suggesting how one could easily cross this porous "frontier" of seven milestones.

In addition to the milestones, the *Battalname* makes note of the other man-made border formations and markers, such as castles and towers, and describes the mountain passes as well as rivers that formed natural barriers in the frontier zone. The Byzantines' set up a frontier defense system of posting guards to block strategic passes (*derbend*).[40] In one story, Caesar, upon the suggestion of his vizier, orders the closure of all mountain passes in provinces close to Muslim lands to prevent infiltrations. Caesar sends letters to his begs, Sünbat Bin

around him. See Dedes, *Battalname*, 1:364, line A25; 429, line A128; and 497, line A244. The attitude stressed in the narrative finds echoes in the anonymous Ottoman chronicles that criticize Ottoman rulers who kept some booty to create a state treasury. Necdet Öztürk, ed., *Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi* (*Osmanlı Tarihi, 1285–1502*) (Istanbul 2013), 303–304. On booty and its distribution among the frontier lords and the Ottoman sultans, see Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "En marge d'un acte concernant le pengyek et les aqıngı," *Revue des études islamiques* 38 (1969): 21–47, esp. 38–41, on the history of *pençik* (a tax paid by the frontier lords to the Ottoman rulers comprising one-fifth of booty). For an analysis of the criticism against the creation of a state treasury from among the gazi, see Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 111–113, 139–150. For the Arab-Byzantine frontier of ninth and tenth centuries, see Marius Canard, "Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende," *Journal Asiatique* 208 (1926): 61–121; Hélène Ahrweiler, "L'Asie Mineure et les invasions arabes (VIIe–IXe siècles)," *Revue Historique* 227 (1962): 1–32; Nicolas Oikonomides, "L'organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe–XIe siècles et le Taktikon de l'Escorial," in *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des études byzantines, Bucarest, 6–12 Septembre, 1971*, ed. Mihai Berza and Eugen Stănescu (Bucharest 1974), 285–302; John F. Haldon and Hugh Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organisation and Society in the Borderlands," *Zbornik Radova* 19 (1980): 79–98; Bosworth, "The City of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine Frontiers;" Decker, "Frontier Settlement and Economy in the Byzantine East;" Eger, *The Islamic-Byzantine Frontier*.

39 Dedes, *Battalname*, 2:338; for the English translation, ibid., 1:101, line A1.

40 Derbend is the Byzantine *kleisourai*. On derbend and kleisourai, see Dedes, *Battalname*, 2:429, line A129, and for Dedes's commentaries, 2:640–641.

İlyun, Kalib Bin Sabbah, Feridun the Persian, Kalun of Jerusalem, Tekfur Şah, and to Gülbad the Rumi ordering them to guard the mountain passes. They were to strictly forbid all crossings, such that not even a bird should get past them. Every mountain valley was to be protected by 2,500 men. Yahya Bin Munzir, a Muslim spy newly arrived from Rum, warns Battal that Caesar has sealed off all the passes, so he should not get excited about going to Rum that year. From this episode, one also learns that Battal conducts yearly incursions into Rum.[41]

Seyyid Battal, the warrior in the name of Islam, is also found to be a bandit with the wherewithal to operate independently in the mountain passes, attacking caravans to accumulate goods and money. Responding to a request from an old man to save Muslims imprisoned in Harcane, Battal sets out for Rum.[42] He reaches a mountain where across the valley he sees a tall castle, its tower reaching high into the sky and with the Muslim prisoners within its confines. There he waits until evening to strike. Battal tries to find a way to enter the castle, but cannot get past the three thousand men guarding the passes at night. During the day, he patiently remains on the mountain, waiting for nightfall to make another (vain) attempt at entering the fortress.

Then one day, Battal sees a caravan from Çin arriving at the castle.[43] He rolls down the hill and attacks the caravan, killing the envoys and stealing their goods before heading back up the mountain. When the Byzantines are notified of the attack, they dispatch a thousand of the guards against him. Battal descends from the mountain, breaks through their ranks, and decimates them. He captures the son of Taryun, the Byzantine governor of Harcane, and takes him up the mountain. Battal then adopts another name, Suhrab and blocks all the paths to the mountain. He is soon caught by the Byzantines and confined to the same prison with other Muslims in Harcane. Battal and the Muslim prisoners will be saved by Gül-Endam, the daughter of Taryun, who falls in love with him.[44]

As noted above, the city of Malatya serves as Battal's base. It is to Malatya that Battal always returns after setting out on a military incursion or some other trip. Baghdad (the home of the caliph), Syria-Damascus (Şam/Sham), and Constantinople are the three focal points in the *Battalname*, with Malatya

41 Ibid., 2:429–430, lines A129–130.

42 Dedes identifies Harcane in the *Battalname* as the Byzantine citadel of Charsianon, the theme and capital having the same name. It is situated west of the Melitene pass, north of Cappadocia, east of the theme of Boukellarion, and south of Armeniakon theme. Dedes, *Battalname*, 2:444–446, lines A153–156 and for Dedes's commetaries ibid., 2:643.

43 According to Dedes, Çin/Chin should not be identified as China, but rather an area in Transoxiana, closer to Iran. See ibid., 2:615.

44 Ibid., 2:446–448, lines A157–161.

at the center of this triangle. Whenever there is news of triumph in the world of Islam, it is reported to the caliph in Baghdad, who immediately spreads the word to the province of Şam. Rum and Şam are geopolitically connected in the narrator's mind.[45] Constantinople, although far away, is nonetheless capable of shaping the frontiers.

The *Battalname* depicts the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople and the caliph in Baghdad as universal authorities. They send letters to begs and assemble them under their respective banners. The emperor of Rum, Arakil, dispatches letters to the begs of the kingdom of the Franks, the land of the As and Rus, Hitya and Hotan, Samarkand, Circassia, Transoxiana, Talikan, Mazandaran, Haluk, Karya, Sarhang-Abad, the province of Cemşidiyye, and any province of infidels, inviting them "to come and wipe out the Mohammedans and make the world safe from their evil; to spare neither the caliph nor Hijaz nor Syria; to destroy it all and burn down the Kaaba and restore 'the honor of the Fire of Light and the Messiah'."[46]

The great begs of the infidels who answer to the call of the Byzantine emperor are identified as Akritis the Wizard, Mencayil of the Maghrib, Sercayil, Mihriyayil, the infidel Akarib, Karun of Talikan, Süleyman of Antioch, Ishak of Kufa, the renegade Haluk the Tatar, the renegade Yalaman the Turk, the renegade Nasr of Hamadan, and the renegade Kalb of Rum. Meanwhile, the caliph sends invitations from Baghdad to the *padişah*s (monarchs) of Islam from Hijaz, Yemen, Tayf, Turkestan, Çin and beyond, Bulghar, Georgia, Iraq, Isfahan, Heart, Tus, the outskirts of Kirvan, Khurasan, and the realm of Abdülmümin, called Diyar-Bakr-Abad.[47]

Battal confronts the armies, warriors, and governors of the fortified cities in frontier zones. The Byzantine emperor in Constantinople is omnipresent in the *Battalname*. He never directly confronts Seyyid Battal physically, but instead serves as a powerful, universal Christian authority. Akritis the Wizard, the representative of Byzantine frontier lords (*akritai*), features less than the emperor. Battal tricks Akritis and the other Byzantine lords, claiming that he is Akuş, a Christian servant of the emperor.[48] Tarsus, one of the most important cities on the Byzantine-Arab frontier as a trade entrepot and strategic military post, is repeatedly mentioned in the narrative.[49]

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45 On Dedes's comments on Şam, Şamı Şamatı and Rum and Şam, see ibid., 2:612–613, 615.

46 Ibid., 2:449, line A162–163.

47 Dedes, *Battalname*, 1:449–451, lines A 162–166.

48 Ibid., 2:457–460, lines A176–181.

49 On Tarsus and how Dedes dates the narration based on this passage, see Dedes, *Battalname*, 2:624–625, 627–628. On Tarsus and the Arab–Byzantine frontier, also see Bosworth, "The City of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine Frontiers."

Battal, the warrior who is also an adept bandit able to navigate and exploit mountainous terrain, hopes to receive gifts and tribute from the Byzantines as income, in addition to the material goods and men he picks up from attacking caravans in mountain passes on the frontiers. The frontier in the *Battalname* resembles a thughur zone, protected by fortified cities, towers, mountain passes, and rivers along the Taurus and Anti-Taurus. The principal fortified city on the Muslim side is Malatya.[50]

2.2 *Us*

The Battal of the *Battalname* is a *seyyid*, a descendant of Prophet Muhammad through genealogical descent from Ali, the son-in-law of Prophet Muhammad.[51] He serves the emir of Malatya and marries into the family of Emir Ömer of Malatya. He is a Muslim and a warrior who usually battles non-Muslims, that is, infidels. He stands as a *pehlivan*, a chivalric warrior. Seyyid Battal belongs to a group variously described as soldiers of Islam (*Islam leşkeri*), Sunnis (*sunniler*), Muslims (*müslimanlar*), Mohammedans (*Muhammedi*), and as gazis. All of Battal's companions hail from the abode of Islam, except for Şemmas, the crypto-Muslim monk in the land of Rome, and Battal's brother-in-arms, Ahmar Tarran (Ahmed Turran). Battal rarely takes on a persona with divine powers or one able to perform miracles. In one episode, however, when the Jews in the land of the Maghrib ask him to perform a miracle of resurrection, to convince them to convert to Islam, Battal goes to an island resembling Paradise and fasts for forty days, after which Prophet Ilyas grants him the power of miracle working.[52]

Battal crosses geopolitical boundaries as well as the cultural borders between "us" and "them." He becomes friends with non-Muslims, who will eventually convert to Islam. His companion Ahmar Tarran—the cousin of the Byzantine emperor, that is, the son of his paternal uncle—is depicted as an extremely robust warrior.[53] Caesar, the Byzantine emperor, sends Ahmar, along with fifty thousand men, including the emperor's son Şamun, to fight against the Muslim Cafer. Ahmar, having defeated several Muslim champions on the

50 On thughur, see Walter E. Kaegi, "Awasım and Thughur," *ODB* 1:238; Marius Canard, "Al-Awasım," *EI²* 1:761–762. Also see Clifford E. Bosworth and John Derek Latham, "Al-Thughur," *EI²*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1214 (accessed January 22, 2018).

51 On seyyid (*sayyid*), see Mustafa Sabri Küçükaşçı, "Seyyid," *TDVİA* 37:40–43. Also see Clifford E. Bosworth, "Sayyid," *EI²* 9:115–116. According to Dedes, there are not enough indications in the *Battalname* of any possible pro-Ali or Shiite coloring. On this and a bibliography on the general problem of Shi'ism in Anatolia, see Dedes, *Battalname,* 2:611.

52 Dedes, *Battalname,* 2:421–423, lines A115–120.

53 Ibid., 2:366, line A29.

battlefield in duels, finally has to confront Cafer himself in one.[54] The fight ends in a draw. Cafer and Ahmar admire each other's courage and talent for fighting. Cafer is curious about Ahmar, so he disguises himself, dressing in "Roman clothes," and goes to the infidel army's encampment.

Cafer sees Ahmar leaving the camp and follows him to a magnificent orchard, where he meets a young beautiful girl at a pavilion. Ahmar drinks wine and eats lamb with the girl. He also takes the time to sing Battal's praises. Upon hearing these compliments, Battal reveals himself and invites Ahmar to convert to Islam. Ahmar proposes that they wrestle, and promises that if Cafer pins him, he will convert. Cafer wins, and Ahmar becomes a Muslim. Ahmar then offers Cafer some wine, but he declines. The men eat roasted lamb together and rename each other. Ahmar bestows on Cafer the name Battal. Cafer gives Ahmar the name Ahmed Turran, who then joins Battal in the fight against the infidels.[55]

Battal's infidel companion Şemmas, a crypto-Muslim monk, hosts Battal in Rum country.[56] Kaytur Bin Sasan, the infidel ruler of an infidel city near Kilimiya, near Alexandria in Egypt, converts to Islam along with the begs under his authority and moves to Malatya. Later, he builds a city, Kaytur Abad, in a place called Karakib Brook.[57] Another close companion is Tevabil-i Rumi, a hero, pehlivan, and servant of Emir Ömer of Malatya.

Several women, Muslims and infidels, fall for Battal's charms, but they are not depicted as his companions. Battal is a polygamous womanizer. One of the women he intends to marry says, "The fellow gets married everywhere he wanders and needs a woman for every part of his body."[58] He marries Zeynep, the daughter of his uncle Hasan;[59] Mah-Piruz, the youngest daughter of the Byzantine emperor;[60] Katayun, the emperor's eldest daughter;[61] Gül-Endam, the daughter of Taryun, governor of Harcane;[62] and Fatima.[63] He also has an affair

54 In the *Battalname*, the warriors, who are famous for their fighting skills, fight a duel. They use swords, maces and lances. The Muslim and Byzantine armies assemble in rows to watch the fight. The depiction of the scenes gives the impression of an individual competition between the chivalric warriors of each army. See ibid., 2:368–369, lines A33–34.

55 Ibid., 2:370–374, lines A36–41.

56 Ibid., 2:349–350, line A7.

57 Ibid., 2:411–413, lines A97–101.

58 Ibid., 2:498, line A245.

59 Ibid., 2:378, line A44.

60 Ibid., 2:387–390, lines A58–62.

61 Ibid., 2:516–523, lines A281–294; 525, lines A297–298; 529–531, lines A306–309.

62 Ibid., 2:446, lines A 156–157.

63 The *Battalname* provides no information on Fatima's identity. Ibid., 2:512, line A271.

with Bayda, a witch and daughter of the Byzantine vizier Akratis/Akritis,[64] and abducts Humayun, the middle daughter of the Byzantine emperor, and sends her to the caliph.[65] He rescues Huma Dil-Afruz, the daughter of Asjad, the padişah of Saylaf, from monsters.[66] He saves other women from Rad the Witch (Rad Cazu).[67]

Battal also helps people abduct women they love. For Abdüsselam, one of his companions, he abducts Nevruz Banu, the daughter of the Byzantine lord Serabil, and he officiates the wedding of Adan Banu, leader of the Amazons, to Şah Bidrun, the ruler of Kirvan.[68] Manliness in the *Battalname* is not only associated with bravery and military competence, which are cemented through victories in battle and duels against infidels, but also through the conquest of women.[69]

Battal had nomad admirers as well. They do not accompany him in his military exploits or adventures, but they do pay him respect. The leader of the nomad groups (*göçkinci*), who live in thousand tents, is a certain Yuhanna Bin Afşin, a Sunni Muslim in charge of a group of Sunni Muslim nomadic group. Yuhanna extends his hospitality to Battal, taking him to his summer pasture atop a mountain with meadows amid refreshingly cold waters. Battal weds Yuhanna's daughter to Muhammad Bin Fallah, a notable from Tarsus.[70]

2.3 *Them*

Battal's enemies are the soldiers and armies of Rum as well as the governors of Rum, who receive their orders from the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople. They are often referred to as infidels (*küffar*, *küffar çerisi*, *küffar leşkeri*). Their geographical identities are constructed using possessive nouns, for example,

64 Ibid., 2:406–407, lines A89–90.

65 Ibid., 2:484–487, lines A220–225.

66 Ibid., 2:563, lines A371–373.

67 Ibid., 2:596–602, lines A436–443.

68 Ibid., 2:514–516, lines A277–280.

69 This aspect in the *Battalname* can be associated with the nature of the population in the Muslim towns on the Byzantine frontier. Throughout the period of Arab-Muslim occupation, these towns seem to have remained very military in atmosphere. In Tarsus in the tenth century, two-thirds of residents were single men, engaged in military activities and probably transient, while only one-third were heads of households. These single men, volunteer religious fighters, were called *uzzab* (bachelors). Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," 111; Bosworth, "The City of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine Frontiers," 281.

70 Dedes, *Battalname*, 1:409–410, A94–95. Dedes, ibid., 1:661, by referring to the case of general Afşin, a Turkish commander of the caliph's troops who captured Babak, the leader of the Khurammite rebellion in 837, argues that these could be Turcoman nomads on the Taurus Mountains rather than Arab Bedouin nomads.

kayser-i Rum (the emperor of the land of Rome), *Rum'un silihşoru* (chevalier of the land of Rome), *ehl-i Rum dükelis* (all the people of Rum). The characters' identification with Rum refers to their being from the land of Rome. There is only one instance, when Battal dresses in Roman garb as a disguise, in which Roman's being distinguished by their dress, or appearance, is suggested. The enemies are not only the people in the land of Rome, but also the infidel rulers of the various climes. One other tenacious enemy of Battal, is the *kadı* of Baghdad, Ukbe, and his son Velid. All the enemies of Battal, both Muslim or non-Muslim, are designated as *küffar*, the infidels.[71]

2.4 *Byzantines: Fact and Fiction*

Seyyid Battal remains largely on the Abbasid-Byzantine frontier zone of the ninth and tenth centuries. His entries into Rum are extremely limited in scope. Rum İli, the land of Rome, is defined as the territory under the direct control of the Byzantine emperor ruling from Constantinople. The frontiers of this land are heavily defended and controlled by the Byzantines, so Battal has difficulty crossing from the frontier into it. His actions, apart from his incursion at Amorion and Constantinople, take place around the frontier zone not far from Malatya or, usually, in places far afield. In the *Battalname,* the emperor is all-powerful, able to exert his authority to the far-flung frontiers of his empire and request the call-up of allied armies of distant rulers. Baghdad and Constantinople are the two main centers of power. Their rulers, the caliph in Baghdad and the emperor in Constantinople, both have universal claims of political authority, and thus play important roles in the sequence of events. The authority displayed by the Byzantine emperor suggests the Byzantine centralized state during the period of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056).[72]

Beginning in the mid-ninth century, the Byzantine Empire was able to stop Arab invasions by securing a well-protected frontier zone, and in the mid-tenth century went on offensive, eventually retaking Syria.[73] As noted, in the *Battalname*, the Byzantine emperor's authority as a central political figure could be felt even on the frontiers, thus making him the hero's main antagonist. Seyyid Battal's opponents, his best companion, and his wives are all directly related to the omnipotent emperor: his adversaries are the armies and warriors of the

71 Ibid., 1:479, lines 211c–d, and 511, lines A270–274.

72 Alexander Kazhdan, "Byzantium, History of," *ODB* 1:352–353.

73 Catherine Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of the Empire (976–1025)* (Oxford 2005); Oikonomides, "L'organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe–XIe siècles"; Decker, "Frontier Settlement and Economy in the Byzantine East;" Eger, *The Islamic-Byzantine Frontier*, 102–124; Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Turkish–Muslim Anatolia*, 53–57.

emperor; his best companion is a cousin of the emperor; his wives are the emperor's daughters, with the exception of one being the daughter of the governor of Harcane, an important frontier city castle.

3 Part 2: The *Danişmendname*

3.1 *Land of Rome and Frontiers*

In the *Danişmendname*, the land of Rome—variously called Rum, Rum İli, and Vilayet-i Rum—is the raison d'être of the narrative's hero. Rum at first represents, the areas under the control of Caesar (*kaysar*, *kayser*), the Byzantine emperor. As the narrative continues, Ahmed Danişmend, who hails from Malatya, ventures into Rum to conquer cities and areas under the authority of the emperor and becomes an integral part of the political, social and cultural Roman space. Danişmend's declaration at the beginning of the narrative, reciting the Roman/Byzantine names of cities along with their Turkish ones foreshadows this transformation:

> Let us march over those provinces and head toward Dükiyye, that is Tokat, and Sisiyye, that is Gümenek, and Harsanosiyye, that is Niksar, and in the direction of Canik and Harşana, that is Amasiyye, and Samiyye, that is Samsun, and Sinobiyye, that is Sinob, and Karkariyye, and in the direction of Kaşan, also known as Turhal. Let me march and with the will of God Almighty conquer them all.[74]

Ahmed Danişmend's presence in the land of Rome is different from that of Seyyid Battal, who could not enter the land of Rome as in the way he had hoped because of its heavily defended and guarded frontiers. Battal could not transform Roman space as he wished. Ahmed Danişmend does, however, enter, with a constant urge to leave his mark on Roman lands, especially on its cities. After every conquest, the audience is informed about the construction of a mosque and a madrasa inside the city. He transforms the Christian urban landscape into a Muslim one by appointing Muslim administrators, imams, *khatib*s (Qur'an readers), muezzins, and kadıs and by ordering the building of mosques and madrasas.[75]

The way Ahmed Danişmend is represented with regard to the cities and the way he alters the urban landscape mimics the spatial order of Danishmendid

74 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:8, line 9b.

75 Ibid., 1:65, line 76b; 86, line 104b; 129, line 160a; 153, line 194a.

cities—among them Sivas, Tokat, and Amasya—and the appropriation and adaption of existing Byzantine monuments. According to Ethel Sara Wolper, the Danishmendids occupied the citadels and converted major churches into mosques or madrasas but the visible landscape of the Byzantine city remained pretty much the same.[76] The visual exteriors of urban symbols familiar to the Christian population remained unaltered, while the Danishmendid made alterations within the existing structures and provided new meanings to the physical and demographic environment. It is only after the Seljuk sultans captured these cities from the Danishmendids at the beginning of the thirteenth century that the actual look of the Byzantine city changed, for example, with the addition of minarets to the aforementioned structures. In the *Danişmendname,* Ahmed Danişmend in a similar fashion makes alterations within the existing structures on the physical landscape and he also transforms the Byzantine social and cultural landscape by forming a new group, relying mostly on the existing Byzantine social groups.

The nature of the geopolitical frontier in the *Danişmendname* is different from that portrayed in the *Battalname*. Ahmed Danişmend, like Seyyid Battal, hails from Malatya, but once he leaves the city for conquest in Rum, he never returns. His military base changes along with the narrative as he takes cities. According to the epic, Sivas is the first city that Ahmed Danişmend transformed. When Ahmed Danişmend arrives at Sivas, no one inhabits the city, which is in complete ruins and without walls. Ahmed Danişmend orders its citadel rebuilt and leaves Sivas to Süleyman, one of his companions, to supervise.[77] After Sivas, Ahmed Danişmend conquers Dükiyye/Tokat, which becomes his base, then Sisiyye/Gümenek, Kaşan/Turhal, and Karkariyye (Zile). He takes Harşana/Amasiyye (Amasya), which will serve as his last headquarters.[78] After Harşana/Amasiyye, he conquers Çorum/Yankoniyye.[79] Niksar/Harsanosiyye is Ahmed Danişmend's last conquest.[80] During the siege of the fortress of Harkümbed, which according to the narrative is situated near

76 Ethel Sara Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia* (University Park, PA, 2003), 8–9, 42–43.

77 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:7–9, lines 7a–11a.

78 For the conquest of Tokat, see ibid., 1:45, lines 50b, and 49–53, lines 55b–62b; for the conquest of Sisiyye/Gümenek, 61–63, lines 71b–74a; for the conquest of Turhal/Kaşan, 67–70, lines 79a–83b; for the conquest of Karkariyye, 75, line 89b; for the conquest of Amasiyye/Harşana, 153–154, lines 192b–194a. Whereas Harcane in the *Battalname* is identified as the Byzantine citadel of Charsianon, in the west of the Pass of Melitene, Harşana of the *Danişmendname* is located much further northwest and is identified as Amasya.

79 Ibid., 1:174, line 218a.

80 Ibid., 1:201–203, lines 249a–252b.

Niksar, Danişmend confronts a coalition organized by the ruler of Tarabuzan (Trebizond). He is wounded and bleeds to death.[81]

The frontier in the *Danişmendname* is set in the north, in the Cappadocian region, bordering the western Pontic. Constantinople, Baghdad, and Malatya do not serve as cores, but are of symbolic importance. Each Byzantine fortified city in the Cappadocian region is a core center in its own right. Although the Byzantine governors of each of these cities are family members of the emperor, they act semi autonomously. "Frontier" as articulated in the *Danişmendname* is the distance from one fortified city to another, similar to a core-periphery model (see map 10).[82] As one moves away from one city and its immediate environment, the sovereignty of the beg of that city ends. In short, except for the fortified cities themselves, the areas between them can be considered a frontier zone.

Similar to Seyyid Battal's situation, in the frontier zone that Ahmed Danişmend and his group inhabit, they are mainly in contact with fortified cities and monasteries, and they enjoy meadows and springs around and in between them. Mountain passes are not as prominent as in the *Battalname,* and Ahmed Danişmend never turns into a bandit, but the warrior/thief model is represented in the *Danişmendname,* in the characters of Artuhi and Torsuvar the Frank, who both rustle horses. The borders of Ahmed Danişmend's intended conquests are outlined at the beginning of the narrative. He never travels to faraway lands or to extra-terrestrial places like Seyyid Battal does, and one does not perceive in his actions an ambition of universal conquest in the name of Islam. Neither the caliph in Baghdad nor the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople has the power to muster the armies of the Muslim and Christian worlds on the frontier as in the case of the *Battalname*. Ahmed Danişmend's wealth takes the form of booty and huge amounts of livestock.

3.2 *Them*

The categorization of the characters in the *Danişmendname* initially appears simple and straightforward. "Us," Ahmed Danişmend and his companions, are defined as Muslims, Muslim warriors (*İslam çerisi*), and as gazis.[83] "Them," Danişmend's enemies, are the so-called infidels (*küffar*) and Roman warriors

81 Ibid., 1:203, line 252b.

82 For the core-periphery model, see Eger, *The Islamic-Byzantine Frontier*, 10; Ralph W. Brauer, "Boundaries and Frontiers in Medieval Muslim Geography," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., 85, no. 6 (1995), 5–6. For the story-worlds and frontier formations in the *Battalname*, the *Danişmendname* and the *Saltukname*, see map 10.

83 On gazi in the epics, see Chapter 3.

(*Rum çerisi*). The common denominator between us and them is that they are all warriors or warlike; what sets them apart is their religion. A closer look at the individuals in the narrative reveals that the enemies carry more defined identity markers than Ahmed Danişmend and his companions. The infidel warriors are all under the command of representatives of the Byzantine emperor. They are called Romans (*Rumi, Rumiler*). They share the same land, Roman lands (Rum İli). They share the same language (*Rumi dili*). They use the same scripture (*Rum hattı*). They are not referred to as Christians but as infidels. One gathers that they are Christians because they refer to Jesus as God and not as a prophet as in the Islamic tradition, wear crosses around their necks, and are fond of relics and icons.

Nastor and Şah-ı Şattat are Ahmed Danişmend's Byzantine archenemies. Nastor, a relative of the Byzantine emperor, is a chivalrous warrior (pehlivan),[84] and Şah-ı Şattat, beg (lord) of Amasya/Harşana, is the emperor's uncle.[85] Şah-ı Şattat and Nastor are connected through a matrimonial alliance. That is, Şattat's daughter, Efrumiyye, is engaged to Nastor. These two men represent the emperor in the provinces and command the Byzantine army there. Their core military force consists of family members and retinues serving as commanders and warriors. For example, Yankol-ı Rumi is Nastor's uncle, Haçatur is the son of Nastor's uncle, and Ramin is the son of Şah-ı Şattat. They are all warriors.[86]

In addition to this core force, there are three auxiliary military units aligned with the emperor on the battle lines: those of begs, foreign allied forces, and mercenaries. Among the begs who also control fortified cities and join their retinues and forces with the Byzantine army are Kaytal, the beg of Ankara, father of Gülnuş Banu (the future wife of Ahmed Danişmend), and the uncle of Ahmed Serkis (Serkis will become a close companion of Danişmend); Bedros/Beduros, beg of Ahlat; Hisarbad, beg of Kastamonu; Istifanos, beg of Samsun; Mihayil, beg of Migirdic castle, near Tokat; Mihayil, beg of Niksar; Laz, beg of Çankırı; Vasilyos, beg of Sinop; Totor, beg of Samsun. There are also two Muslim brothers: Miknas, beg of Bayburt, and Tekin, beg of Kemah who joins

84 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:15, line 19a.

85 Ibid., 1:12, line 15a; 15, line 19a.

86 On Yankol-ı Rumi, see ibid., 1:17, line 21a; on Haçatur, ibid., 1:23, lines 26b–27a. Haçatur (Khatchatour) was probably inspired by the Byzantine name of the Armenian duchess of Antioch, an ally of the Byzantine emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (r. 1068–1071). On Khatchatour, see Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 1:133, and Joseph Laurent, "Le duc d'Antioche Khatchatour, 1068–1072," *BZ* 30 (1929–1930): 405–411. On Ramin, see Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:28, line 31b.

Nastor and Şattat.[87] Miknas and Tekin, though Muslims, are called infidels in the text.

Each beg's military force includes extended family members and retinues. The famous warrior Gavaris (Gavras) is the brother of Mihayil, beg of Niksar. The brothers are the sons of Matrid, beg of Canik, who lived during the time of Seyyid Battal.[88] The Byzantine warrior Küşarbad is the brother of the beg of Kastamonu.[89] There are also kinship ties between and among begs from different cities. To wit, Serhayil, beg of Tokad, is the brother of Mihayil, beg of Migirdic, and of Nikola, beg of Derbendpes.[90] Nikola is the brother of Totor.[91] Natros, the son of the beg of Karkariyye, is the son-in-law of Totor.[92]

Members of the wide-ranging foreign allied forces include Atuş, a warrior hero and commander of the Frankish forces who is also the brother of Kipriyanos, another Frankish commander; Selahil the Frank, a commander of the Frankish army; Beduros the Frank, a commander of the Frankish army; Behmen Gürci, a commander of the Georgian forces; Ehron Gürci, beg of Georgia; Puthil, sultan of Trebizond and his son,[93] Kirikalis; Kara Burç, famous warrior fighting for the beg of Trebizond; Mihran, sultan of Armenia; Mihras and Girpas, Sultan Mihran's sons; and İklis, beg of Armenia. Among the mercenary forces are Torsuvar the Frank, leader of four hundred Frankish and Circassian brigands who rustle horses, and stockpile material.[94]

The leaders of prominent monasteries (*deyr*), monks, and priests (*ruhban*) also join in the defense of castles, monasteries, and churches.[95] Kayirbil Zahid, for example, is an eighty-year-old monk who wants to engage in a duel with Ahmed Danişmend to defend his monastery. He asks the permission of Şah-ı Şattat, who initially opposes the idea, asserting that his duty is to pray, not fighting on the battlefield. As Kayirbil insists, Şah-ı Şattat ultimately allows

87 On the Beg of Bayburt, see ibid., 1:62, lines 72b–73b, 75a–b; on the army of beg of Kemah, 64, lines 74a, 75b.

88 On Gavras (Gavaris), ibid., 1:188–192, lines 234a–239b; 180, line 224b; 184–185, lines 229a–230a; on the sons of Gavras, 199–201, lines 245a–247b.

89 On Küşarbad, see ibid., 1:108–109, lines 132a–133b.

90 On Serhayil, Mikhail and Nikola, see ibid., 1:45–48, lines 50b–54b.

91 On Nikola, brother of Totor, ibid., 1:68, line 80a.

92 Ibid., 1:69, line 81b.

93 On the immediate neigbors of the Empire of Trebizond, their relations with each other, and with the State of Trebizond throughout the fourteenth century, see Shukurov, "Between Peace and Hostility."

94 On Torsuvar the Frank, see Demir, *Danişmendname,* 1:133–134, lines 163b–166b.

95 On the Byzantine church, priests, and monks as depicted in the *Danişmendname*, see Michel Balivet, "Eglise et clercs byzantins dans l'épopée turque," in *Mélanges byzantins, seldjoukides et ottomans*, ed. Michel Balivet (Istanbul 2005), 81–106.

him and sixty other monks to fight Danişmend.[96] The three priests at the Deryanos Monastery (Deyr-i Deryanos), near Tokat, are also depicted as engaging in military action. Using magic, they create a fire-crushing dragon to fight Danişmend while defending their monasteries.[97]

Papas, a warrior -priest, heads the Church of the Cross (Haç Kilisesi) near the Tokat castle.[98] Papas is the son of Barıtas, the "caliph" of the infidels to whom the Byzantine emperor sends goods and money each year.[99] Papas engages in a duel with Artuhi and then imprisons him, and against Danişmend, he defends the Church of the Cross with two hundred other monks all clad in armor.[100] On a mountain peak in Niksar/Harsanosiyye stands a monastery resembling Hagia Sophia Church in Constantinople. It is physically connected to the one in Constantinople through sewer tunnels. Whenever Byzantine provincials wish to pray in Hagia Sophia Church in Constantinople, they use the tunnels to go there, and after worshipping, they return to Niksar.[101] According to the *Danişmendname*, a monk named Sematorgos, who is responsible for the monastery, has seven hundred monks under him who all know magic. They defend and protect the city against Danişmend's assaults. Artuhi and

96 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:94–95, lines 113b–115a: "Bu yana kafirlerde bir dilaver ruhban varıdı. Şattat katına geldi. Adına Kayirbil Zahid dirlerdi. Meydana girmeğe destur diledi. Şattat eytdi: 'Sen bir ruhban kişisin, ol bir pehlivandur. Sen ana mukabil olamazsın. Heman sen Narunur'a meşgul ol, yalvar. Bunlarun güçin, kuvvetin, nusretin baglamaga çare iyleye,' didi. Ruhban eytdi: 'Ey şah! Ben cenge anun-ıçun geldüm ki ömrümden seksen yıl geçmişdür. Altmış yıldur ki diyrde salibe, Lat ve Menat'a hıdmet ile kulluk iderem. Anlardan himmet ve inayet umaram. İmdi bu gün dilerem ki meydana girem, salib yolına çalışam, ya bir iş bitürem ki salib benden hoşnud ola veya budur kim çelipa, nakus içün kendüzümi kurban kılam,' didi. Şattat çün anı işitdi, ruhbana dua kıldı. Pes Kayirbil rahib meydana girdi, şöyle kim atını haçlarla bezemiş."

97 Ibid., 1:49–50, lines 56b–58a.

98 Ibid., 1:50–51, lines 58a–63b.

99 The names of "foreign" persons in the narrative are usually forms of the titles of those engraved in the collective memory: Sivasdos (*sebastos*); Medrepelit (metropolitan); Batraş, Barıtas, Bartaş (patriarch); Papas (priest); Kaysar/Caesar (emperor); and Despina (princess). See Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 1:131–132.

100 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:51, line 59b/12: "Nagah Papas çıka geldi, iki yüz ruhban bilesine şöyle kim demure gark olmışlardı. Her biri bir ayuya dönüp ellerinde gürz varıdı."

101 Ibid., 1:188, lines 232b–233a: "Rum'da Harsanosiyye gibi şehir yogıdı. Şöyle kim İstanbul manendi şehirdi. İstanbul'da bir deyr varıdı ki ana Ayasofiyye dirlerdi. Bu Harsanosiyye şehri kim Niksardur. Bunda dahı bir diyr yapmışlardı. Ayasofiyye misalinde idi. Anda bir ruhban olurdı ki Sematorgos dirlerdi. Ol diyri bir kala gibi yapmışlardı ve ol Sematorgos ruhbanın eli altında yidi yüz ruhban varıdı. … Cazulık ve sihir tılısımatı bilürlerdi. Şöyle kim divleri ve cinleri teshir idüp cazulıgla anlara yapdurmışlardı ve yir altından bir lağım yapdurup Niksar'dan İstanbul'a varınça lağımdan giderlerdi. Ayasofiyye'ye varup ibadet idüp girü Niksar'a gelürlerdi."

Abdurrahman-ı Tokadi, who know the city of Niksar and the monastery of Sematorgos through the stories of their ancestors, advice Danişmend to first seize and destroy the monastery of Sematorgos in order to conquer the city of Niksar.[102]

In sum, the enemy of Ahmed Danişmend is the Byzantine army, which is under the command of two of the emperor's relatives. These two commanders lead a small military core consisting of their own family members and retinues. The lords' auxiliary forces, foreign allied forces (Franks, Georgians, Armenians), and mercenary groups (Torsuvar) fight along with this core force. The begs' units, consisting of their family members and retinues, constitute the primary fighting force of the Byzantine army. Most of the city lords are connected through matrimonial alliances or through familial ties. The heads of the monasteries and churches, which join in the defense of cities, castles, and monasteries, are in contact with the Byzantine emperor or with Constantinople. There are also close-knit family ties within the monastic establishments and churches. For example, Papas, a warrior -priest at Haç Kilisesi, is also the son of Barıtas. The three priests at the Deryanos Monastery are brothers.[103] Thus, Ahmed Danişmend appears to be fighting against a vast family. The most powerful members in this family are those who have familial ties or personal relations with the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople.

3.3 *Byzantines: Fact and Fiction*

The picture painted of the Danişmend's enemies in the *Danişmendname* is an impressionistic image of the Byzantine army and society during the Komnenian period (1081–1185).[104] The Komnenoi relied on native soldiers for the core of their army, but they also employed a wide variety of auxiliary soldiers, allies,

102 Ibid., 1:188, line 233b/6–8. "Artuhi ve Abdurrahman-ı Tokati eytdiler: 'Biz atamuzdan şöyle işitdük ki, niçe kim Sematorgos diyri vardur. Niksar şehrin kimse alamaz. Zira bu şehri tılısımla Sematorgos baglamıştır. Şehrün kilidi ol diyrdedür. Ol diyr harab olmayınça şehir dahı alınmaz,' dimişlerdür, didiler."

103 Although spiritual kinship was the ideal, and familial kinship was considered a hindrance in monastic households, on examples of familial kinship in Byzantine monastic establishments, see Leonora Neville, *Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society 950–1100* (Cambridge, MA, 2004), 70.

104 Jean Claude Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris 1990), 359–458; Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, MA, 1993); idem, "The Empire of the Komnenoi (1118–1204)," in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c. 500–1492*, ed. Jonathan Shepard (Cambridge 2008), 627–663. On Komnenian political culture and bureaucracy turning into aristocracy, see Neville, *Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society*, 31–38; eadem, *Heroes and Romans in Twelfth Century Byzantium: The Material for History of Nikephoros Bryennios* (Cambridge, MA, 2012), 63–138.

and mercenaries.[105] In the *Danişmendname*, a governor of a fortified city is also the commander of the military forces of the city and its environs. In short, the governors of the regions were also the commanders of the regional armies.[106] These city lords do not, however, serve as "state employees" in the *Danişmendname*. Each appears to act autonomously in making decisions on whether to join the highest representatives of the Byzantine army in the province. Şah-ı Şattat and Nastor, although relatives of the emperor, do not seem to control the actions and decisions of the city lords.[107]

The close relations of the heads of monasteries and powerful priests with provincial lords on the one hand and with the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople on the other resemble Byzantine provincial town structures in the Komnenian period. By the eleventh century, and possible before that, local magnates (*archontes*),[108] bishops, and to a certain extent monastic establishments held collective responsibility for the affairs of cities. They had obligations to the emperor and to their close relatives, but they also had autonomy vis-à-vis the central government, which created a certain city-state mentality.[109]

105 John F. Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204* (London 1999), 94, 125; John W. Birkenmeier, *The Development of the Komnenian Army: 1081–1180* (Leiden 2002), 140. For the structure, recruiting policies and the maintenance of the Byzantine army during the Komnenian period, see ibid., 139–181. On mercenaries in the Byzantine army in the twelfth century, see Neville, *Heroes and Romans*, 63–74.

106 Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society,* 97.

107 Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance*, 424. Two examples of byzantine governors' attachment to the imperial family are Theodore Gabras, who had a project of having matrimonial relationships with the Komnenoi, and Theodore Dokeianos, who governed Paphlagonia for a long time and was a second cousin of Alexios Komnenos. I thank Jean-Claude Cheynet for this information. For Theodore Gabras, see Anthony A.M. Bryer, Archibald Dunn, and John W. Nesbitt, "Theodore Gabras, Duke of Chaldia (1098) and the Gabrades: Portraits, Sites and Seals," in *Byzantium State and Society: In Memory of Nikos Oikonomides*, ed. Anna Avramea, Angeliki Laiou, and Evangelos Chrysos (Athens 2003), 51–70. On Theodore Dokeianos, see K. Varzos, Ἡ γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν (Thessalonica 1984), 1:59–61.

108 *Archontes* is a term that can be loosely translated as lords, meant also an official or holder of an imperial post of some sort. John F. Haldon, "Social Elites, Wealth and Power," in *The Social History of Byzantium*, ed. John F. Haldon (West Sussex 2009), 190–191. They represented state authority in the provinces, holding local governmental offices in the provincial cities. Archontes can be considered aristocrats in the conventional sense of the aristocracy as bearers of official distinction. See Nevra Necipoğlu, "The Aristocracy in Late Byzantine Thessalonike: A Case Study of the City's Archontes (Late 14th and Early 15th Centuries), *DOP* 57 (2003): 135n8. For Byzantine aristocracy, see below 47n116.

109 Michael Angold, "Archons and Dynasts: Local Aristocracies and the Cities of the Later Byzantine Empire," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. Michael Angold (Oxford 1984), 236–253; Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 150–160; idem,

The depiction of the Byzantine army as a big family, including connections to the Byzantine emperor, reflect the Komnenian social system, in which dynastic rule was secured by matrimonial alliances between powerful families and the imperial family as well as through the distribution of dignities and state services, including high military commands.[110]

The martial character of the monks in the *Danişmendname* is quite interesting. Scholars have long recognized how Byzantine society was militarized since the end of ninth century. The Komnenoi had been a provincial, military aristocratic family.[111] The emperor and the aristocracy held military attributes and chivalric virtues in high esteem, so a warlike (*philopolemos*) character in an emperor or an aristocrat was viewed as a positive.[112] The Byzantine church, however, condemned the warrior-monk or warrior-priest who killed enemies even in defense of the Christian faith. Priests were not allowed to fight, and those who did were punished.[113] The Byzantines were mostly shocked when they saw warrior-priests and warrior-monks in the ranks of crusading armies.[114]

Yet one encounters monks and priests fighting in the *Danişmendname* to defend their monasteries, churches, and castles in the vicinity of their establishments. Is this image of the warrior-monk and warrior-priest a misinterpretation of Byzantine practices? Were priests among the crusaders who fight in and along side the Byzantine army conflated with Byzantine holy men, or were such practices in the provinces not rare despite the Byzantine church's condemnation of them? It is difficult to know, but Kayirbil the monk's request to fight and Şattat's response, mentioned above, hints that storytellers and authors were aware of the Byzantine attitude toward ecclesiastics going to war.

Another impressionist depiction of the Komnenian reality is the connection between the Byzantine emperor and the head administrators of the big monasteries and the powerful priests. The large Byzantine monasteries of the period were typically founded by aristocratic families related to the

"Honour among the Romaioi: The Framework of Social Values in the World of Digenes Akrites and Kekaumenos," *BMGS* 13 (1989): 183–218.

110 Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 181–201.

111 On the militarization of the Byzantine society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries see, Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, 104–119.

112 Stouraitis, "Conceptions of War and Peace in Anna Comnena's Alexiad," 72.

113 On Byzantine approaches to the concept of warrior-priest and warrior-monk see, Ioannis Stouraitis, "Jihad and Crusade: Byzantine Positions Towards the Notions "Holy War," *Byzantina Symmeikta* 21 (2011): 33–34, 50.

114 Anna Komnena, daughter of Alexios I Komnenos, expresses astonishment in her history on this issue. See *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena*, ed. Elizabeth A.S. Dawes (New York 1967), 256.

Komnenian dynasty. Some of the founders were military veterans. The monastic charters, *typika*, of these monasteries designate the descendants or relatives of the original founder as the head administrators.[115]

The enemies of Ahmed Danişmend, as depicted in the *Danişmendname*, conform to what is known of the provincial Byzantine aristocrats of the Komnenian period.[116] They are military aristocrats, holding official distinctions or posts as governors of provincial cities or as commanders of the Byzantine army. The most powerful among this group, Şah-ı Şattat and Nastor, not inconsequentially have familial ties to the emperor. They are also very wealthy. Although

115 Jean Claude Cheynet, "The Byzantine Aristocracy in the 10th–12th Centuries: A Review of the Book by Alexander Kazhdan and Silvia Ronchey," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy and Its Military Function*, study 11 (Aldershot 2006), 19; Michel Kaplan, "Why were Monasteries Founded in the Byzantine World in the 12th and 13th Centuries?" in *The Proceedings of 1st Sevgi Gönül Conference of Vehbi Koç Foundation on Transformation in the Byzantine World, 12th and 13th Centuries, June 2007, Istanbul, Turkey*, ed. Ayla Ödekan, Engin Akyürek, and Nevra Necipoğlu (Istanbul 2010), 408–413.

116 The term *provincial Byzantine aristocrats,* is used here to represent the provincial upper strata of society while acknowledging arguments about the appropriateness of the term in the Byzantine social context. There were no juridical criteria separating such class from the rest of the population in Byzantium. For the emperor, all were his subjects (*douloi*). The juridical sources shed some light on differentiating two social groups: the powerful (*dynatoi*) and the poor ones (*penetes*, *ptochoi*). An imperial aristocracy, comprised of people in the emperor's service did, however, exist. Membership in the state's service and the bestowal of a dignity were both criteria for entry and long-term inclusion in the aristocracy. Wealth and descent from an ancient, noble family or association with a powerful kin group (*eugeneia*) was also an essential characteristic of a Byzantine "aristocrat." The Byzantine aristocracy was not homogenous and consisted of three groupings: the emperor's entourage; families with high-ranking positions in the state administration army; and the provincial aristocracy, primarily military nobility from Asia Minor that grew out of the struggle against the Muslim expansion. The Komnenian dynasty was mainly associated with the provincial military aristocracy. On the Byzantine aristocracy, see George Ostrogorsky, "Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium," *DOP* 25 (1971): 1–32; Angold, *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance*; idem, *The Byzantine Aristocracy and Its Military Function*; Alexandre P. Kazhdan and Silvia Ronchey, *L'aristocrazia bizantina dal principio dell XI alla fine del XII secolo* (Palermo 1997); Ioanna Antonopoulou, "La question de l'aristocratie' byzantine: remarques sur l'ambivalence du terme 'aristocratie' dans la recherche historique contemporaine," *Symmeikta* 15 (2002): 257–264; Haldon, "Social Elites, Wealth and Power," 168–211; Paul Magdalino, "Court Society and Aristocracy," in Haldon, *The Social History of Byzantium*, 212–232; Magdalino, "Honour among Romaioi," 195; Paul Stephenson, "The Rise of the Middle Byzantine Aristocracy and the Decline of the Imperial State," in *The Byzantine World*, ed. Paul Stephenson (London 2010), 22–33; Efi Ragia, "Social Group Profiles in Byzantium: Some Considerations on Byzantine Perceptions about Social Class Distinctions," *Byzantina Symmeikta* 26 (2016): 348–349.

the begs are connected to each other through family ties, the one family tie that brings wealth, power, and dignity is that to the emperor.

Familial ties as depicted in the *Danişmendname* again draw an impressionistic picture of the Komnenian period during which the Byzantine emperors promoted the distribution of dignities and state services, including high military command, to families connected to the imperial dynasty and encouraged matrimonial links between the imperial family and other powerful families to safeguard their rule against restless and rebellious provincial aristocratic families also bound by kin solidarity. Under the Komnenoi, the aristocracy blended through matrimony into the imperial dynasty. Between the tenth and the twelfth centuries, the aristocracy became a closed milieu, restricting mobilization within the system.[117] Renewal at the upper levels of the ruling class became minimal, and by the twelfth century, most of the military hierarchy consisted of members from the different branches of the ruling Komnenian dynasty.

3.4 *Us*

In the *Danişmendname,* Ahmed Danişmend descends from the sister of Seyyid Battal. He trains in the martial arts during the day on the outskirts of Malatya, and at night he pursues his education.[118] Ahmed Danişmend is a Muslim and a warrior fighting against the infidels. Two vague references to his territorial identity are mentioned in the epic: Malatya, Seyyid Battal's residence and Danişmend birthplace, and Baghdad, the city of the caliph. Although warriors must obtain the caliph's permission to lead a gaza, and after each military victory a share of the booty is sent to him, the caliph in the *Danişmendname* does not represent a powerful universal authority as in the *Battalname*.

Ahmed Danişmend and his companions have identity markers that are less defined than those of their enemies. His companions do not initially have a shared linguistic or even a common territorial identity. Ethnically, culturally, and socially, Ahmed Danişmend's group is more heterogeneous, including Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, and Turks (as suggested based on their names), along with Byzantine nomads, aristocratic women, village owners, second-degree blood relatives of the Byzantine city lords, low-ranking monks, and priests.[119]

117 Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 180–201. Despite this closed milieu, some new elements managed to infiltrate the system, among them "Turks". See Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks*.

118 *Danişmend* means "erudite" and also refers to a student at a madrasa who has obtained a degree. On *danişmend*, see Mehmet İpşirli, "Danişmend," *TDVİA* 8:464–465.

119 The presence of the Arab warriors in the forces entering Asia Minor after 1071 is supported by some Arabic tombstones surviving from the brief conquest of Nicaea (1081–96) by the

All of Danişmend's infidel companions are from the land of Rome and are called Rumi until they join his cause.

At the beginning of the narrative, Danişmend's childhood companion is Sultan Turasan, his uncle.[120] Ahmed Danişmend and Sultan Turasan pass the days playing and practicing the military arts in gardens near the city. At night, Ahmed goes into the city of Malatya to study. The people of Malatya, who are tired of Byzantine (Rumi) attacks, ask Ahmed's help to protect their city against the infidels. Two eminent people from Malatya, Eyyüb bin Yusuf and Süleyman bin Numan, go to Baghdad to obtain the caliph's permission to lead a gaza against the infidels.[121] In the fight against the infidel Byzantines (*Rum kafiri*), Ahmed Danişmend, Sultan Turasan, Eyyüb bin Yusuf, and Süleyman bin Numan are joined by Çavuldur Çaka,[122] Kara Togan, and Hasan bin Meşiyye.[123] After taking Sivas, which was left in ruins by the Rumis, they decide to separate and fight against the infidel Rumis in different regions.[124] Sultan Turasan, Çavuldur Çaka, and Kara Togan head toward the sea and to Constantinople, pillaging the area between Kayseri and Istanbul.[125] Hasan, Eyyüb, and Süleyman remain in Sivas to repair the castle of Sivas, and Ahmed Danişmend continues his adventures on his own.[126]

The stories of the early companions are presented at the beginning of the narrative, and although Hasan, Süleyman, and Eyyüb will occasionally be mentioned in the military adventures of Danişmend, the people who are culturally, territorially, politically Byzantine and ethnically Greek or Armenian will join him and become the main actors and protagonists throughout the narrative. The major stories and plots, after the conquest of Sivas, concern the Byzantine companions, who upon joining Ahmed Danişmend are called Muslim warriors.

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forces moving with the Seljuk prince Süleyman bin Kutalmış /Sulayman b. Kutulmish (d. 1086), the founder of the sultanate of Rum. These tombstones remain today as slabs to buttress the fortifications built after 1096, when the crusaders captured the city and turned it over to the Byzantines. Clive Foss, "Byzantine Responses to Turkish Attack: Some Sites of Asia Minor," in *Aetos: Studies in Honor of Cyril Mango*, ed. *Ihor Ševčenko* and Irmgrad Hutter (Stuttgart 1998), 156–157; Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own," 13.

120 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:2–3, lines 2b–3a. For reflection on which historical figure Sultan Turasan represents, see Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 1:120–122.

121 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:3, line 4a. For Eyyüb bin Yunus and Süleyman bin Numan, see Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 1:126.

122 On Çavuldur Çaka, see Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 1:122.

123 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:6, line 6b.

124 Ibid., 1:8, line 9b.

125 Ibid., 1:6, line 6b.

126 Ibid., 1:9, lines 10b–11b.

In terms of their otherness, only their ability to read "Roman script" and talk in the "Roman language" are occasionally noted.

Danişmend's true brother-in-arms is Artuhi. The reader meets him at the beginning of the story, when Ahmed Danişmend wonders in a valley after having left Sivas. From that scene on, Artuhi becomes a protagonist of the narrative who fights alongside Ahmed Danişmend. One learns Artuhi's story during this first meeting:[127] His mother was a Muslim from Malatya who had become a slave at the age of seven during the Byzantines' capture of the city. The emperor gave the young slave girl as a gift to the Artuhi's father, at the time the leader of a Byzantine nomadic tribe in the mountains (*göçgünci tag halkındandur*).[128] As a poor orphan, she was made to tend sheep alongside the other Byzantine shepherds (*Rum çobanları*). Artuhi's father came across her in the wilderness one day while hunting. She became pregnant by him and gave birth to Artuhi, who inherited his father's tribe upon his death.

Next, one learns about Artuhi's love for Efrumiyye, the daughter of Şah-ı Şattat, who will not allow her to marry Artuhi. Şattat has in fact engaged Efrumiyye to Nastor, who hails from the family of the Byzantine emperor and is a general in the Byzantine army.[129] Not being able to join his beloved, Artuhi becomes a brigand (*harami*) around the region of Amasya, starting with rustling Şah-ı Şattat's horses. In return, Şah-ı Şattat attacks Artuhi's tribe and pillages his territory. The members of Artuhi's tribe flee and become dispersed. Artuhi goes off to live and hunt alone in the wilderness, but his love for Efrumiyye does not fade. He tells Danişmend that he is ready to sacrifice his life for anyone who helps unify him with his beloved. Ahmed Danişmend promises to assist him, at which point Artuhi converts to Islam and joins Danişmend. Artuhi's love is reciprocal. Efrumiyye is not content with her engagement to Nastor, because she is in love with Artuhi. Ahmed Danişmend and Artuhi abduct her, and she joins their cause.

For Mélikoff, Artuhi is representative of the nomadic Turks, or Turcomans. According to her, Artuhi's Christian identity is attributed to him to create an analogy with Ahmed Turran, the close companion of Seyyid Battal in the *Battalname*.[130] This interpretation is unconvincing, however, as the presence of the Byzantine companions is much more substantial in the *Danişmendname* than in the *Battalname,* and Artuhi, a nomadic Christian, cannot simply be

127 Ibid., 1:10–13, lines 12a–17a.

128 Ibid., 1:12, line 14a.

129 Ibid., 1:15, line 19a: "Ol pehlivanun adına Nastor dirler. Kayser taallukı olduğıçun ana virürler, didi."

130 See Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 1:123. On shared themes in the Anatolian epic romances, see Dedes, *Battalname*, 1:49–50.

explained by the topos of the Byzantine warrior as the close companion of the hero of Turkish Muslim heroic epics. In the *Danişmendname*, almost all Ahmed Danişmend's companions are Byzantines whose stories constitute the backbone of the narrative. Nicolas Oikonomides, who studied Danishmendid seals and the coins bearing Greek inscriptions, titles, and contemporary Byzantine iconography, argued rightly that Artuhi should not be a straight borrowing, but a representation of the mixed ethnic and religious background of Danişmend's group. For Oikonomides, Artuhi may well be a Christianized Turkish nomad.[131]

Artuhi might also just as well represent a non-Turkish Christian nomad, for example, an Armenian. The information that he is from a nomadic tribe of the people of the mountains and that he later engages in brigandage brings to mind the Armenian clans near Melitene/Malatya mentioned by Michael the Syrian around 1060s. Michael refers to them as brigands of the Armenian race and as the people of the mountains.[132] The region of Melitene at the end of the twelfth century was controlled by the Byzantine duke Gabriel of Melitene (d. 1102),[133] who was ethnically Armenian but followed the Chalcedonian creed.[134] A series of mountains constitute the region's spine. Also Toros, the ethnically Armenian Byzantine governor of Edessa (1094–1097), was referred to as the "man of the mountain."[135] Claude Cahen suggests that "man of the mountain" could have been a common description used by other Armenian rulers or chieftains in the region.[136]

The ethnicities of the characters do not seem to be of importance in the *Danişmendname*. The ethnicities of the foreign groups that join the Byzantine army are mentioned—among them Georgians, Franks, and Armenians—but the people living in Byzantine territory under the authority of the emperor are

131 Oikonomides, "Les Danishmendides, entre Byzance, Bagdad et le sultanat d'Iconium," 195–196.

132 Seta B. Dadoyan, "The Armenian Intermezzo in Bilad al-Sham," in *Syrian Christians under Islam: The First Thousand Years*, ed. David Thomas (Leiden 2001), 164–166.

133 Gérard Dedeyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés: étude sur les pouvoirs arméniens dans le Proche-Orient méditerranéen (1068–1150). De l'Euphrate au Nil—le reseau diasporique*, vol. 2 (Lisbon 2003), 954–986.

134 Ibid., 963.

135 Ibid., 986–996.

136 Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Damascus 1940), 211. Dadoyan disagrees with Cahen's suggestion, believing that there is not much evidence to support this interpretation. See Dadoyan, "The Armenian Intermezzo in Bilad al-Sham," 169–170. According to Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 150, Totori, Totor, or Totorid is the Turkish distortion of Saint Theodore. For Byzantine Armenian aristocrats under Seljuq rule, see Alexander Beihammer, "Christian Views of Islam in Early Seljuq Anatolia: Perceptions and Reactions," in Peacock, De Nicola, and Yıldız, *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, 60–64.

all identified as Rum (Roman). Although characters in the *Danişmendname* having names signifying ethnic Armenian origins, such as Serkis and Totor, they are all called Rumi. Artuhi's story combined with other references in the narrative reflects the importance of the pastoral economy in the Byzantine provincial world, in which sheep and horses seem to constitute an important part of the wealth of individuals. This is not only true of the "nomadic mountain people," like Artuhi, and peasants, but also of the powerful and wealthy city lords, like Şah-ı Şattat.

As noted, the mother of Artuhi, a Muslim slave from Malatya, tends the sheep herds of a nomadic tribe from the mountains along with Byzantine shepherds. Şah-ı Şattat's horses near Amasya are plundered by Artuhi, and in response, Şah-ı Şattat attacks Artuhi's people and their herds. In addition, Torsuvar, a Frankish mercenary in the Byzantine army, is known to be a brigand who steals horses in the vicinity of Çankırı. Shepherds, hunters, bandits, and members of military groups all interact on the grasslands and in the wilderness.

These details in the *Danişmendname* allude to the situation in Byzantium in the eleventh century, during which the economic power of the great magnates was firmly based on extensive ranching.[137] In eleventh/twelfth-century Byzantium, the wealth of a Byzantine aristocrat consisted of city properties (workhouses, stores, houses), land, income and gold derived from the state's services, and cattle.[138] During this period, there seems to have been an increase in

137 For land use and the emphasis on livestock herding for the seventh–eleventh century Byzantine economy in general and more specifically Cappadocia, pastoralism and shepherds, and sheep and horses representing the mobile capital of the powerful land magnates, see Michael F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300–1450* (Cambridge 1985), 55–56 and map 13; Decker, "Frontier Settlement and Economy in the Byzantine East," 265; Michel Kaplan, "L'activité pastorale dans le village byzantin du VIIe au XIIe siècle," in *Animals and Environment in Byzantium* (*7th–12th c.*), ed. Ilias Anagnostakis, Taxiarchis G. Kolias, and Eftychia Papadopoulou (Athens 2011), 407–420, esp. 413; John F. Haldon et al., "The Climate and Environment of Byzantine Anatolia: Integrating Science, History, Archaeology," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 45, no. 2 (Autumn 2014): 139–141. For pastoral local economy and production and consumption of animal products between the ninth and eleventh centuries in Paphlagonia, see Charis Messis, "Au pays des merveilles alimentaires: invitation à la table paphlagonienne," in *Latte e Latticini: Aspetti della produzione e del consume nelle società mediterranee dell'Antichità e del Medioevo*, ed. Ilias Anagnostakis and Antonella Pellettieri (Lagonegro 2016), 159–171.

138 Jean-Claude Cheynet, "Fortune et puissance de l'aristocratie," in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantine, VIIIe–XVe siècle*, ed. Vassiliki Kravari, Jacques Lefort, and Cécile Morrison, vol. 2 (Paris 1991), 199–213. For cattle breeding constituting a substantial amount of the wealth of the rich and powerful people, see Michel Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle* (Paris 1992), 343–345. On private wealth, see ibid., 326–329;

animal breeding as it was a successful pursuit in times of danger, as the herds were easier to protect than crops and other forms of agricultural production.[139] The coexistence of bandits, hunters, and soldiers in the wilderness is also represented in the Byzantine epic poem *Digenes Akrites* that depicts the lifestyle and values of an eleventh/twelfth-century Byzantine provincial military aristocrat responsible for the defense of the border regions.[140] Before constructing himself a princely palace by the Euphrates, this Byzantine provincial aristocrat led a solitary nomadic life in the wilderness with his family, retinue, and herds, living in the wonderful tent given to him as wedding gift.[141]

Efrumiyye is Ahmed Danişmend's other significant companion.[142] The daughter of one of Danişmend's most powerful enemies, she is depicted as a courageous and powerful warrior, fighting against the Byzantine army and even against her father and family.[143] Efrumiyye guards Ahmed Danişmend and Artuhi's camp while they sleep or pray.[144] She also plays the role of a

idem, "L'aristocrate byzantine et sa fortune," in *Femmes et pouvoir des femmes en Orient et en Occident du VIe au XIe siècle*, ed. Alain Dierkens et al. (Lille 1999), 205–226. On the importance of cattle breeding and the rise of meat consumption in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Byzantium, see Angeliki Laiou, "The Human Resources," in *The Economic History of Byzantium*: *From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki Laiou, vol. 1 (Washington, DC, 2002), 53. On cattle breeding in peasant holdings, raising stock, and pasturage, see Alan Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire,* 900–1200 (New York 1989), 149–157; Jacques Lefort, "The Rural Economy, Seventh–Twelfth Centuries," in Laiou, *The Economic History of Byzantium*, vol. 1, 246, 263–267.

139 Lefort, "The Rural Economy," 285.

140 Nicolas Oikonomides, "L'épopée de Digénis et la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe et XIe siècles," *TM* 7 (1979): 375–397; Magdalino, "Honour among Romaioi"; idem, "*Digenes Akrites* and Byzantine Literature: The Twelfth-Century Background to the Grottaferrata Version," in *Digenes Akrites: New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, ed. Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Aldershot 1993), 1–14.

141 Jeffreys, *Digenis Akritis,* 809–904, 956–964.

142 According Mélikoff, Efrumiyye/Efromiya is a historic character. The name is derived from Eumorphia, the daughter of Gabriel, the governor of Melitene/Malatya, who was Armenian by origin but Chalcedonian Christian in religion. According to Mélikoff, Efrumiyye's abduction by Artuhi and Danişmend on her way to marry Nastor is a depiction of another historical incident. Around 1160, Seljuk Sultan Kılıç Arslan II, at war against the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–1180), had demanded the hand of the daughter of Emir Saltukid of Erzurum. An embassy was sent to bring the girl to Konya. The grandson of Danişmend, Yağıbasan, kidnapped her and her bridal caravan. To cancel the marriage contract with Kılıç Arslan, the girl renounced Islam and then reconverted to be able to marry Zünnun, the nephew of Yağıbasan. Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 1:129–131.

143 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:25, line 28b; 28, line 31b.

144 Ibid., 1:225, line 29a.

matchmaker between Danişmend and Gülnuş Banu.[145] She spies on the Byzantines by disguising herself as a monk,[146] and she joins the prestigious mission to the caliph in Baghdad to inform him of Danişmend's death.[147]

As the daughter of Şah-ı Şattat, an aristocrat, Efrumiyye belongs to the upper strata of the provincial Byzantine world. Her actions in terms of Byzantine norms regarding women of the aristocracy in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries would be considered unforgivable mistakes and crimes.[148] In Byzantium, where the church considered passionate love a sexual deviation[149]—sex could only be expressed in a monogamous marriage, which was contracted by parents while their children were very young[150]—Efrumiyye opposes her father's decision about her marriage, falls in love with Artuhi, but does not marry Artuhi immediately after being abducted by him and Ahmed Danişmend. Efrumiyye, enthralled by her love of Artuhi, transgresses the limits of normally assigned relations between a man and a woman in a society in which modesty characterizes female honor and where women are seen as the weak spot in a man's household (*oikos*),[151] which was perceived as the smaller unit of the

145 Ibid., 1:136, line 169b; 155, line 195b.

146 Ibid., 1:188–189, lines 234a–236a.

147 Ibid., 1:203, line 256a.

148 Angeliki Laiou, "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," *JÖB* 31, no. 1 (1981): 233–260; eadem, *Mariage, amour et parenté à Byzance aux XIe–XIIIe siècles* (Paris 1992). For prolegomena to the study of Byzantine women, see Judith Herrin, "In Search of Byzantine Women: Three Avenues of Approach," in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. Averil Cameron and Amelie Kuhrt (Detroit 1983), 167–189; Alice-Mary Talbot, "Women," in *The Byzantines*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, trans. T. Dunlap (Chicago 1997), 117–143; For the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Lynda Garland, "The Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women: A Further Note on Conventions of Behavior and Social Reality as Reflected in Eleventh and Twelfth Century Historical Sources," *Byzantion* 58 (1988): 361–393; Carolyn L. Connor, *Women of Byzantium* (New Haven 2004). For a composite picture of a upper middle class women's life in eleventh-century Constantinople, see Anthony Kaldellis, ed. and trans., *Mothers and Sons, Fathers and Daughters: The Byzantine Family of Michael Psellos* (Notre Dame, IN, 2006); Lynda Garland, ed., *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience, 800–1200* (London 2006).

149 Laiou, *Mariage, amour et parenté,* 67–74. Yet in the twelfth century, the revival of the late antique type of romance reveals that there was also a desire for romantic love. Talbot, "Women," 123. On twelfth-century Byzantine romance, see Ingela Nilsson, "Romantic Love in Rhetorical Guise: The Byzantine Revival of the Twelfth Century," in *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Mediterranean and Beyond*, ed. Carolina Cupana and Bettina Krönung (Leiden 2016), 39–66.

150 Evelyne Patlagean, "L'enfant et son avenir dans la famille byzantine (IVe–XIIe siècles)," *Annales de démographie historique* 1 (1973): 85–93.

151 Paul Magdalino, "The Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. Michael Angold (Oxford 1984), 92–111; idem, "Honour among Romaioi," 202; Neville, *Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society,* 66–98. Oikos described a number of re-

universal household of the Byzantine state, headed by the Byzantine emperor.[152] Efrumiyye loves Artuhi so much that she disobeys her father and runs away from home. She breaches the Byzantine oikos by exposing herself to the public and to men outside of her close family.[153]

Unlike Byzantine aristocratic women who were to stay within their immediate family, out of the sight of foreigners, and be educated there, Byzantine peasant women and female shepherds, like Artuhi's mother, could not be locked up at home due to their daily occupations and responsibilities. This can be glimpsed from the life of Philaretos, an eighth-century saint and an elite in the Paphlagonian village of Amnia. When his granddaughter was chosen to marry the emperor, he bragged to the imperial civil servants about how he had educated his daughters like aristocratic women, by never allowing them to leave their apartments.[154] The description of Artuhi's mother in the narrative points to how a shepherd girl, contrary to an aristocratic woman, should know how to pitch a tent, chase wild animals that attack her herds, and ride a horse while herding livestock on grasslands and in the mountains.[155]

After Artuhi and Efrumiyye, one by one, other Byzantines join Ahmed Danişmend, usually upon Danişmend's promise to help them abduct their beloved. Paniç decides to help Artuhi and Danişmend conquer the castle of Dokiya in return for the abduction of his beloved, the daughter of Mihayil, commander of the Dokiya castle.[156] Paniç is Mihayil's nephew and the son of a commander of the Byzantine army. Mihayil first agrees to marry his daughter

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lationships, including between God and creation, a landlord and those on his estates, the emperor and the other rulers, the head of the household and its members (parents, children, siblings, servants, tenants, and slaves) and between soldiers within military units. See Neville, *Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society,* 67, 73.

152 Magdalino, "Honour among Romaioi," 186.

153 Modesty required that the more respectable a Byzantine woman, the less she was to be exposed in public and to men outside the members of her family. In reality this could not be avoided. There is evidence that from the eleventh century onward upper-class women were no longer confined to the women's quarter and became involved in certain activities outside the home. See Laiou, "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," 246–249; Talbot, "Women," 129–134. For the women's quarter in the Byzantine house, see Alexander P. Kazhdan, "Women at Home," *DOP* 52 (1998): 1–17.

154 *La Vie de St Philarète des miséricordieux*, ed. M.H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, *B* 9 (1934): 85–170, cited in Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 232–233. For a recent edition and translation in English, see *The Life of St Philaretos the Merciful Written by His Grandson Niketas: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Indices*, ed. and trans. Lennard Rydén (Uppsala 2002).

155 For Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 1:140, Artuhi's mother is an exemplary Turcoman woman.

156 Demir, *Danişmendname,* 1:57, lines 66a–67b.

to Paniç but changes his mind after the death of Paniç's father. After the conquest of Dokiya and the abduction of Mihayil's daughter, Paniç converts to Islam, takes the name Muhammad, and marries Mihayil's daughter.

Another companion is Kara Tigin, the son of a Rumi mother and Muslim trader father from Baghdad, who had once visited Roman lands for commerce. His father, falling in love with the daughter of a monk named Tamasun, converted to Christianity so he could marry her.[157] Tamasun owned a village, and when he died, the village was first left to Kara Tigin's father, and then upon his death, to Kara Tigin. During the siege of the castle of Çankırı (Mankuriyye/Gangra), a married Rumi woman, Meryem Hatun, upon seeing Prophet Muhammad in her dream, deceives her husband and convinces him to leave the castle. Artuhi and Kara Tigin then kill the husband. Meryem Hatun would go on to help them conquer the Mankuriyye castle from the Byzantines and eventually marry Kara Tigin. Artuhi hands control of the castle and its surroundings to the newly married couple, who then help all widowed Byzantine women to marry Muslim men.[158]

Serkis, the nephew of Kaytal, the governor of Engüriya (Ankara), plays a major part in the marriage of Ahmed Danişmend and Gülnuş Banu, Kaytal's daughter. He helps Danişmend to abduct Gülnuş Banu and kill Kaytal.[159] Serkis plays a double game in the narrative. Although he is a companion of Ahmed Danişmend, he leads the Byzantines to believe that he is actually on their side. For instance, to trick Nastor, Serkis sends a letter to him, announcing his wish to join him. Nastor promises him the city of Ankara, promotion to the top of the Byzantine army, and his daughter Masiya's hand in marriage.[160] In this way, Serkis tricks Nastor, helping Danişmend to entrap and kill him.[161]

There are also minor Byzantine companions. These include the two subjects of the Byzantine beg of Dükiyye/Dokiya/Tokat castle, who take the names Abdullah and Abdurahman after converting to Islam; a crypto-Muslim monk named Harkil Zahid; a monk Biytir Aguş from the monastery of Resto who converts to Islam and has in fact been sent by Prophet Muhammad to help Ahmed Danişmend.[162]

157 Ibid., 1:125, lines 152a–b.

158 Ibid., 1:126–130, lines 154a–160b.

159 Ibid., 1:135–136, lines 167a–169b; 152–153, lines 192a–b.

160 Ibid., 1:173, lines 216a–b.

161 Ibid., 1:173, lines 217a–b.

162 Ibid., 1:83–85, lines 100a–101b. The crypto-Muslim monk typology that appears in the medieval Turkish Muslim frontier narratives can be related to the early Muslim narratives depicting Muhammad as being recognized as a prophet first by the Christian monks. According to Thomas Sizgorich, these narratives deploying a figure, the monk, who had been recognized and acknowledged for more than four centuries in communities of

The Byzantine companions of Danişmend are essentially petty provincial elites.[163] They all possess or once possessed a certain amount of wealth stemming from being a leader of a nomadic tribe, or as a village landowner, or a family member of a city governor or commander. Contrary to the enemies of Danişmend, however, none of the companions is connected to the Byzantine emperor through familial ties or service to the state. They are the people of the provincial urban and rural Byzantine worlds who remain on the periphery of social and political power. The possibility is blocked for their joining the upper strata of society through marriage, and hence the chance of obtaining more wealth, and most important, more social and political power. Ahmed Danişmend plays the role of a catalyst in this environment. He aids these Byzantine men and women on the periphery of political power to reshuffle the dynamics of matrimonial alliances and to shatter the hierarchical system. In return, they join Danişmend in his military actions, which result in territorial gains and political power for him and themselves.

3.5 *Social and Cultural Frontiers: Love Affairs and Food as Identity Markers*

As in the *Battalname*, some of the story lines in the *Danişmendname* involve Byzantine women and love affairs. Yet, while love affairs and "conquered" women serve to reinforce the manliness of Seyyid Battal, Ahmed Danişmend is monogamous, and by orchestrating relationships and marriages among Byzantines, he integrates them into his group. Once a group forms around Ahmed Danişmend, food and commensality serve to separate it from "them."

Sex and food are common necessities for the survival of all animal species. Like sexual activity, food has a social as well as a biological component. Food and drink are tangible objects produced specifically to be destroyed by a form of consumption involving ingestion into the body. This lends them a heightened symbolic role in the social construction of the self.[164] Moreover, given that eating and drinking, repeated every day for biological survival, can be

differing confessional alignments as a discerner of truth and godliness, played an important role in early Muslim programs of communal self-fashioning. See Thomas Sizgorich, "Narrative and Community in Islamic Late Antiquity," *Past and Present* 185 (2004): 11, esp. 27–31, for some early Muslim narratives related to monks.

163 Michel Kaplan, "Les élites rurales byzantines: historiographie et sources," *MEFRM* 124, no. 2 (2012): 299–312.

164 Michael Dietler, "Culinary Encounters: Food, Identity, Colonialism," in *The Archaeology of Food and Identity*, ed. Katheryn C. Twiss (Carbondale-Illinois 2007), 222–226; Kurt W. Back, "Food, Sex and Theory," in *Nutrition and Anthropology in Action*, ed. Thomas K. Fitzgerald (Assen 1976), 24–34.

constructed as social acts, they have the ability to create a set of dispositions that structure action in the world and hence to instantiate social roles, cultural categories, and perceptions of identity and difference.[165]

Norms regarding suitable dining partners as well as suitable consorts reflect patterns of social relations and ideas about hierarchy, inclusion, and exclusion, boundaries, and transactions. Prohibitions on sexual activity and commensality with foreigners can constitute boundaries intended to preserve communal cohesiveness between "us," the insiders, and distinguish the group from "them," the outsiders.[166] For example, to segregate as well as distinguish Jews from gentiles, biblical Judaic restrictions prohibited sex with non-Israelites. Jews were also expected to adhere to Kashrut dietary restrictions, elaborated in the Hebraic post-biblical normative literature of the Hellenistic period, in which Jewish authorities advocated a number of unprecedented foreign food restrictions.[167] Zoroastrians had prohibitions on sex, intermarriage, and food consumption with Muslims after the conquest of Persia by the Arabs. These efforts to control eating and procreation within the groups all reflect a fear among a minority group of losing its group identity.[168] Such anxieties can also be found in societies where a strict social and political hierarchy exists between different social groups, such as in the Hindu caste system, where sex and the sharing of food with people outside and below one's caste are prohibited.[169]

The increasing political, economic, military, social, and cultural presence of Latins groups in the Byzantine lands beginning at the end of the eleventh century had the same fearful impact on the Byzantines, making them anxious about controlling food consumption and procreation to preserve group cohesion. One can see the evidence of Byzantine anxiety in treatises listing the flaws of the Latins, where unclean food and improper fasting habits take up substantial space.[170] Byzantine accusations of impure alimentation also

165 Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford 1990).

166 David M. Freidenreich, *Foreigners and Their Food: Constructing Otherness in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Law* (Berkeley 2011), 6–7; Mary Douglas, "Deciphering a Meal," *Daedalus* 101, no. 1 (Winter 1972): 61–81.

167 Freidenreich, *Foreigners and Their Food*, 32–69.

168 Jamsheed K. Choksy, "Zoroastrians in Muslim Iran: Selected Problems of Coexistence and Interaction during the Early Medieval Period," *Iranian Studies* 20, no. 1 (1987): 17–30; Touraj Daryaee, "Food, Purity and Pollution: Zoroastrian Views on the Eating Habits of Others," *Iranian Studies* 45, no. 2 (2012): 229–243.

169 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo* (London 2002), 152–157.

170 Tia M. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (Urbana, IL, 2000); Barbara Crostini, "What was Kosher in Byzantium?" in *Eat, Drink and Be Merry (Luke 12:19): Food and Wine in Byzantium. Papers of the 37th Annual Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, in*

served as a commonly used weapon in polemical writings against the neighboring Armenians, but the increasing incidence of these accusations against the Latins after the eleventh century is striking.[171]

Food appears in the lists of anti-Latin polemics in terms of improper fasting, eating unclean foods and celebrating the Eucharist with *azyme*s instead of leavened bread. The most common complaint is that Latins consume blood and animals that were improperly slaughtered, such as those strangled, found dead, or killed by wild beasts. They also accuse the Latins of eating unclean animals, including beavers, jackals, bears, tortoises, porcupines, crows, ravens, cormorants, dolphins, mice, and frogs.[172] In some instances, improper food consumption is related to their questionable sexual proclivities. The Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates seems to be disgusted with Latins cooking oxen with ground beans and a pungent garlic sauce—the Byzantines consumed sheep, goat, and pork, but very rarely beef—as well as with their alleged abuse of Byzantine women.[173]

Similar emphasis on unclean food habits among the Turkish Muslim groups is rarely found in the Byzantine primary sources. In regard to food consumption, Muslim fasting is the most frequent theme in Byzantine polemical writings against Islam and in certain hagiographical texts.[174] Maybe due to this

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Honour of Professor A.A.M. Bryer, ed. Leslie Brubaker and Kalliroe Linardou (Aldershot 2007), 165–173. Crostini interprets the Byzantine debates on clean and unclean foods as attempts to symbolically define or deny cross-cultural dialogue. Crostini, "What was Kosher in Byzantium?" 172. For an interpretation of the Byzantines' lists of the Latins' unclean food within the context of Byzantine Christian alimentation practices, see Béatrice Caseau, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes: la culture alimentaire à Byzance* (Paris 2015), 60–76. Also see eadem, "Le tabou du sang à Byzance: observances alimentaires et identité," in *Pour l'amour de Byzance: hommage à Paolo Odorico*, ed. Christian Gastgeber et al. (Frankfurt 2013), 53–62. For Byzantine food and identity, see Benjamin Moulet, "À table! Autour de quelques repas du quotidien dans le monde byzantin," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 90, no. 4 (2012): 1091–1106.

171 Caseau, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes,* 72.

172 Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists*, 145–146.

173 Nicetas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Henry J. Magoulias (Detroit 1984), 326–327; Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists*, 150. Sex and food also created an alterity within Byzantium. The Constantinopolitans between the ninth and eleventh centuries developped an image of the Byzantines of the Paphlagonian region as castrated and sexually neutral due to the presence of some powerful eunuchs of Paphlagonian origin in Constantinople. They also considered the Paphlagonians provincial barbarians due their local pastoral economy, including the production and consumption of milk products. See Messis, "Au Pays des merveilles alimentaires," 159–171.

174 Adel-Théodore Khoury, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam* (*VIIIe–XIIIe s.*) (Leiden 1972), 269–273; Astérios Argyriou, *Macaire Makrès et la polémique contre l'Islam* (Vatican 1966). In the martyrion on Niketas the Younger, his martyrdom is related to his eating and

lack of primary sources, scholars have shown little interest in the symbolic aspect of food in the cross-cultural relations between the Byzantines and the "Turks."[175] On the other hand, food seems to be a major theme in the Turkish Muslim literature of medieval Anatolia between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. For instance, recipe books were translated from Arabic into Turkish.[176] Medical treaties closely correlated what to eat and when to eat it to one's health.[177] In the Sufi literature, including the poems of the dervishes as well as hagiographic literature, the language of food is frequently used to express the mystic sensation of divine love.[178]

In the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Seljuq territories, caravanserais served free meals to travelers, while some madrasas distributed food to the poor.[179] Later, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Muslim Anatolia,

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drinking during Ramadan. On this, see Chapter 2. Also see Halkin, "L'éloge du néomartyr Nicétas par Théodore Mouzalôn (*BHG* 2302)," 127–136; Delehaye, "Le martyre de Saint Nicétas le Jeune," 205–211; Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, "The Martyrdom of Niketas the Younger: A Case of Forced Conversion under the Seljuk Sultan, Masud II or a Reflection of the State Policy under Emperor Andronikos II?" in Ödekan, Akyürek, and Necipoğlu, *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, 28–34; eadem, "Deux logothétès et un empereur. *Martyria* et la propagande impériale à l'époque d'Andronic II Paléologue," in *Le saint, le moine et le paysan: mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Michel Kaplan,* ed. Olivier Delouis, Sophie Métivier, and Paule Pagès (Paris 2016), 267–280.

175 Writing on Byzantine Christian food practices and traditions, Caseau, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes*, 64–66, dedicates only a few pages to the Byzantine perception of food consumed by nomads, namely the Pechenegs and the Turks.

176 Muhammed bin Mahmud Şirvani, *15. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mutfağı,* ed. Mustafa Argunşah and Müjgan Çakır (Istanbul 2005).

177 Mustafa Argunşah, "Sultaniye, Sağlık ve Yiyecek İlişkisi," *Yemek ve Kültür* 2 (Spring 2005): 50–53; Nuran Yıldırım, "14. ve 15. Yüzyıllarda Türkçe Tıp Yazmalarında Hastalıklara Tavsiye Edilen Çorbalar, Aşlar ve Tatlılar," in *Türk Mutfağı*, ed. Arif Bilgin and Özge Samancı (Ankara 2008), 153–163; Nil Sarı, "Osmanlı Tıbbında Besinlerle Tedavi ve Sağlıklı Yaşam," in ibid., 137–151.

178 For a general discussion of eating and fasting in the Sufi tradition, see Valerie J. Hoffman, "Eating and Fasting for God in Sufi Tradition," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 63, no. 3 (Autumn 1995): 465–484; Gabriel Said Reynolds, "The Sufi Approach to Food: Case Study of Adab," *Muslim World* 90 (Spring 2000): 198–217. The foregoing emphasizes fasting in the Sufi tradition. On fasting in fourteenth-century Anatolia and in the Mevlevi tradition, see Nicholas Trépanier, "Starting without Food: Fasting and the Early Mawlawī Order," in *Starting with Food: Culinary Approaches to Ottoman History*, ed. Amy Singer (Princeton 2011), 1–21; idem, *Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia: A New Social History* (Austin 2014).

179 For the conception of such establishments as caravanserais, Sufi and *ahi* lodges, and other socioreligious complexes publicly committed to the provision of food and lodging in medieval Anatolia, see Oya Pancaroğlu, "Devotion, Hospitality and Architecture in Medieval Anatolia," *Studia Islamica* 108 (2013): 48–81.

known as the Beylik (Principality) period, with its multiple power centers, Sufi and *ahi* lodges (*zaviye, ribat, hankah*) provided food and lodging to "comers and goers."[180] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Ottoman territories, the establishment of public kitchens (*imaret*) on a broad scale, to distribute free food to certain groups and individuals, suggests the symbolic nature of food in medieval Turkish Muslim society. The imarets would become an "integral component of the Ottoman project of settlement, colonization, legitimization, and urban development."[181] Yet studies on food in the Turkish Muslim tradition in Anatolia and in the Balkans mostly focus on food as material culture.[182] Food as identity marker and its place in the cross-cultural dynamics in multiethnic and multicultural medieval Anatolia and the Balkans have rarely been addressed.[183]

Turkish Muslim and Byzantine marriages, love affairs, and sexuality have attracted more attention from scholars than has food as a topic. Of note as having already been the subject of inquiry are the dynastic and elite marriages between Byzantines and Turkish Muslim rulers and elites and their effect on

180 Ahis (*akhi*) are the "members of brotherhoods who made their living as craftsmen and tradesmen and rallied around the figure of a shaykh who presided over their rituals and guided their basic commitment to chivalry and spirituality in Sufi or mystical terms." Pancaroğlu, "Devotion, Hospitality and Architecture," 48, 60–72. For ahi hospitality in towns and villages of Muslim medieval Anatolia in the fourteenth century, see Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb, vol. 2 (Cambridge 1962), 416; also see Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century* (London 1986), 137–58. For ahi groups, see Franz Taeschner, "Akhi," *EI*[2] 1:321–323; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Ahi," *EI*[3], http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23942 (accessed May 27, 2019); Claude Cahen, "Sur les traces des premiers Akhis," in *60. Doğum Yılı Münasebetiyle Fuad Köprülü Armağanı. Mélanges Fuad Köprülü* (Istanbul 1953), 81–92; Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 396–402; Mikail Bayram, *Ahi Evren ve Ahi Teşkilatının Kuruluşu* (Konya 1991); Rachel Goshgarian, "Opening and Closing: Coexistence and Competition in Associations Based on Futuwwa in Late Medieval Anatolian Cities," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 1 (2013): 36–52. Also see eadem, "Futuwwa in Thirteenth-Century Rum and Armenia: Reform Movements and the Managing of Multiple Allegiances on the Seljuk Periphery," in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. Andrew C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (London 2013), 227–263; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Fütüvvet: Tarih," *TDVİA* 13: 261–263.

181 Amy Singer, "Serving Up Charity: The Ottoman Public Kitchen," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35, no. 3 (Winter 2005): 492.

182 For a general view of food studies in Ottoman Turkish historiography, see Özge Samancı, "Ten Years in Ottoman-Turkish Food Historiography," *Food and History* 10, no. 2 (2012): 237–246.

183 Among these rare studies, see Trépanier, "Starting without Food," 1–23; Rachel Goshgarian, "Blending In and Separating Out: Sixteenth-Century Anatolian Armenian Food and Feasts," in Singer, *Starting with Food*, 49–68.

the Islamization of Anatolia;[184] Christian women in the Seljuk harem and their role in the creation of a dual identity among the offspring of these marriages;[185] the role of women, especially of the Christian elite, on the cultural life of medieval Anatolia;[186] the role of slave boys and men as protectors and contributors to medieval Muslim Anatolian cultural life;[187] Byzantine women as objects of desire of the heroes of Turkish Muslim epics;[188] and last but not least Ottoman politics of reproduction and the role of Christian slave concubines as central features in the Ottoman dynasty's reproductive politics.[189]

3.5.1 Love Affairs

The *Danişmendname* differs from the *Battalname* in terms of love affairs and marriages. Ahmed Danişmend and all of his companions are monogamous. The aid that Danişmend gives to some of the Byzantines so they can unite with their beloveds, all of them Byzantine women, is the most pertinent factor in the formation of the group around Danişmend. When examined within the social and political context of the Komnenian era, these love stories reveal that the storytellers or authors were knowledgeable about the Byzantine social and political system, in which matrimonial alliances were of outmost importance in maintaining power and social status and safeguarding familial inheritance and its transmission. Vertical relations with the emperor in Constantinople

184 Anthony A.M. Bryer, "Greek Historians on the Turks: The Case of the First Byzantine-Ottoman Marriage," in *People and Settlement in Anatolia and Caucasus* 800–1900, ed. Anthony A.M. Bryer (London 1988), 471–493; Keith Hopwood, "Byzantine Princesses and Lustful Turks," in *Rape in Antiquity*, ed. Karen F. Pierce and Susan Deacy (London 1997), 231–242; Nevra Necipoğlu, "The Co-existence of Turks and Greeks in Medieval Anatolia (Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries)," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 5 (1999–2000): 121; Zornitsa Yoncheva, "Orthodox Princesses in the Court of Ottoman Rulers," *Études balkaniques* 36 (2000): 167–178. For the intermarriage policy of the Byzantine rulers of Trebizond, see Balivet, *Romanie Byzantine*, 101.

185 Shukurov, "Harem Christianity."

186 Antony Eastmond, "Gender and Patronage between Christianity and Islam in the Thirteenth Century," in Ödekan, Akyürek, and Necipoğlu, *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, 78–88; Bruno De Nicola, "The Ladies of Rum: A Hagiographic View of Women in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth Century Anatolia," *Journal of Sufi Studies* 3, no. 1 (2014): 132–156; Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, 82–92.

187 Scott Redford, "Rape of Anatolia," in Peacock, De Nicola, and Yıldız, *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, 106–116.

188 Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 67–70.

189 Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford 1993).

and horizontal relations among powerful families and the people of the imperial service and dynasty were created through marriage.[190]

As in the case of Efrumiyye and Nastor and Paniç and his uncle's daughter, the matrimonial alliances were planned when they were very young. In this system, the contribution of the bride, through her dowry, and the property of her future husband had to be proportional. Thus a male from a modest family could not hope to marry the daughter of a powerful notable for lack of a proportional contribution. Most marriages therefore involved people of the same social class. Artuhi, as the leader of a nomadic tribe, is not poor, but he does not belong to the Byzantine aristocracy, because he has no state post or connection to the imperial family. Meanwhile, Nastor is wealthy, comes from the emperor's family, and holds the highest military position in the province. Efrumiyye's engagement to Nastor would thus be a marriage between equals and a means of maintaining power and status through the matrimonial alliance of two powerful families, both of them connected to the Byzantine imperial dynasty through consanguinity and state service.[191]

With marital engagements organized during a couple's childhood, there was a long delay until the actual wedding, which took place during the bride and groom's puberty. In this interim, the fortunes of the parties might, of course, change, as in the case of Paniç, threatening an engagement.[192] In Paniç's case, his father, a Byzantine army commander, died, and his uncle (his future father-in-law) broke off the engagement. In Byzantium, rich parents not only passed on property and goods to their children, but also know-how and their network of relations. As a successful career in the service of the state offered an income sufficient to assemble a large amount of capital, one's know-how and connections in Byzantine society were important for accumulating wealth and power during one's career. Usually children followed the same career path as their elders, serving first as apprentices to them.[193] If Paniç's father, a commander, had not died, Paniç would have been able to accompany him during his military service and been introduced to court life, through which he could ultimately obtain a profitable post and assorted connections.

190 Jean-Claude Cheynet, "Aristocracy and Inheritance (11th–13th Centuries)," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy and Its Military Function*, study IV (Aldershot 2006), 1, 6–13; Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 180–216.

191 Laiou, "Mariage, amour et parenté," 28.

192 Angeliki Laiou gives an example from *Peira*, a mid-eleventh century collection of excerpts from the statements of verdict and special treatises. An aristocratic woman, who has engaged his nine years old son to a seven years old girl, broke the engagement contract three years later when the girl's family became poor. Laiou, "Mariage, Amour et Parenté," 33.

193 Cheynet, "Aristocracy and Inheritance (11th–13th Centuries)," 23–24.

Paniç's engagement to his uncle's daughter, a second-cousin by blood, was in fact prohibited by the Byzantine church.[194] This is not presented as a hindrance in the *Danişmendname*. The engagement is broken not because of consanguinity, but the death of Paniç's father. This is in line with the actual concerns of the Komnenian aristocracy, which continued to arrange marriages between closely related family members in violation of church regulations. As the political system in the twelfth century was closely related to kinship to the imperial dynasty, intermarriage between close family members continued if it suited the family's strategy of maintaining status.[195]

In Kara Tigin's story, one sees how marriage could lead to acquiring a certain amount of wealth. Kara Tigin's father inherits a village from his father-in-law. By joining Danişmend's group, Kara Tigin expands his wealth and power by marrying a Rumi woman, Meryem Hatun, who had been instrumental in conquering the castle of Mankuriyye/Çankırı. The inclusion of Serkis in Danişmend's group does not involve a consummated love affair, but shows how marriage into a noble and powerful family and holding a high state office were important in Nastor's offers to Serkis in theoretically winning him over.

One can detect a pattern in the way in which the Byzantine petty provincial aristocrat joins Ahmed Danişmend: The latter promises to help him marry his beloved. Upon this promise, he joins Danişmend in his conquests, and either before or after their military success, the petty aristocrat marries his beloved. After the conquest of a fortified city, Danişmend gives his companion authority and power to rule the conquered area. The creation of new matrimonial alliances between the petty provincial aristocrats and the daughters of the powerful Byzantine provincial aristocrats fractures the existing oikos, both in a political sense (between the emperor and the aristocrats) and within the extended family (between the head of the household and its members). This in return breaks up the hierarchic Byzantine system (*taxis*),[196] which is structured around kinship to the imperial family and service in the imperial system.

Apart from this shuffling by matrimonial alliances, there is also a sort of social revolt against Byzantine social and judicial obligations according to which it was incredibly difficult to give witness against one's own family in

194 Laiou, "Mariage, amour et parenté," 21–22.

195 Ibid., 26–28.

196 Taxis, order, is an essential concept that penetrated the Byzantines' understanding of themselves and their world. Taxis designated established order in a range of realities, including rank, class, way of life, and ceremony. On this concept, see Hélène Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin*, (Paris 1975), 129–147. Also see Michael McCormick, "Taxis," *ODB* 3: 2018.

court. Mistreatment of family members was considered the worst of injustices. Sparing the blood of family members was a legally binding obligation.[197] In Efrumiyye's case, she not only disobeys her father, but fights against him and finally kills him and her brother. Ahmed Serkis assists in the abduction of his uncle's daughter, and later he kills his uncle. Paniç helps Ahmed Danişmend conquer his uncle's city. The creation of the relevant matrimonial alliances triggers actions that were otherwise unlawful and socially improper in the Byzantine society. Disobedience and opposing one's family members shattered blood solidarity (kinship) (*sungenikon* or *sungeneia*), which required the participation of family members in all aspects of life, especially during military campaigns, when the head of the family led the army. In the examples here, the breach of this horizontal solidarity affected the dissolution of vertical solidarity with the representatives of the emperor, Şah-ı Şattat and Nastor.

In *the Danişmendname*, although the hierarchic Byzantine system is breached, other norms and values regarding marriage, such as monogamy and consent between spouses, are honored.[198] The system of polygamy and cohabitation with non-Muslim slave women as in the Islamic system is nowhere to be found.[199] Ahmed Danişmend and his Byzantine companions all enter into legal marriages with Christian women. At some point in the narrative, all the Byzantine companions and their Christian brides convert to Islam. Meryem Hatun rules the castle and its surroundings with her husband, Kara Tigin, and Gülnuş Banu, the wife of Ahmed Danişmend, is ensconced in the castle of Haraşna with thousand guards as Danişmend continues his military exploits.[200] Although the Byzantine norm of the parents agreeing on a marriage is ignored, consent between the spouses is always required, even in the case of abduction. Therefore, in terms of the matrimonial system, some Byzantine values and traditions are retained, but the ties of dependence are jiggered. This social

197 On blood solidarity, see Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 261–267.

198 On monogamy and consent, see Laiou, *Mariage, Amour et Parenté à Byzance*, 69.

199 Mélikoff has observed the absence of polygamous relations in the *Danişmendname*, and interpreted this aspect as the influence of the Turkish nomadic culture and life style, in which veiled women of the harem would have no place in the nomadic camps. The women in the *Danişmendname* remind Melikoff of the women warriors of the Turcoman tribes of the fifteenth century. See Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 1: 140. Yet apart from Efrumiyye, no women in the *Danişmendname* accompany men in their military exploits. They stay in the fortified cities, with their newly wed husbands or with their retinue as in the case of Gülnuş Banu, the wife of Melik Danişmend. With the exception of the story of Artuhi's mother, the shepherd, there is no mention of nomadic women.

200 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:160, line 199a: "Gülnuş'ı kalaya iletdiler. Bir güzel makamda koyup ol kalaya bin kişi gözci kodılar."

reshuffling allows the petty Byzantine local magnates to acquire power, wealth, and honor.

The help provided by Ahmed Danişmend in changing these matrimonial dynamics can be seen as a type of gift. As in all forms of gift exchange, a relationship of reciprocal obligation forms between the donor (Ahmed Danişmend) and the receiver (petty Byzantine local magnates). Danişmend helps men marry the women they desire, the men reciprocate the favor by helping Danişmend conquer cities, and Ahmed Danişmend in return places the cities under their authority.[201] This relationship of give and take also establishes a friendship between Ahmed Danişmend and his companions. Danişmend appears to offer more, and in the end, the petty Byzantine local magnates recognize his superiority, which is emphasized even more in the norms surrounding commensality and feasts.

3.5.2 Food, Feasting, and Fasting: The Creation of Boundaries

Awareness of the reciprocal obligation between donor and receiver born from a gift exchange appear in the *Danişmendname* in the parts of the stories related to the offering of food and commensal hospitality, a practice that serves to establish, reproduce, and transform social relations. It encapsulates a form of social competition between the host, who offers the food, and the guest, who receives it. It creates and defines the superiority of the host if the hospitality is not reciprocated.[202] The encounter between Ahmed Danişmend and Artuhi is a perfect example of this.

As the story goes, Danişmend, while wandering about on his horse in the wilderness, arrives at a plain. Resting under a tree, he envisions a dining mattress, a skin full of wine, and a lute before falling asleep. A stranger, Artuhi, arrives, wakes Danişmend, and asks him how he dares to wander in his territory. Ahmed Danişmend reacts angrily, and the men begin to fight. They battle each other for hours and hours. At the end of the day, they finally separate to take a rest before re-engaging the next day. Seeing that Ahmed Danişmend has no provisions, the man offers him some of his food. Danişmend declines, saying the food might have been touched by wine. After chatting a while, Artuhi again offers Ahmed Danişmend food and tells him that if he wants, he can eat separately. Danişmend again declines, saying that if he accepts the food, he will not

201 Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Gunnison (London 1966).

202 Michael Dietler, "Feasting and Fasting," in T*he Oxford Handbook on the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, ed. Timothy Insoll (Oxford 2011), 183.

be able to fight him, as the sharing of food will make him indebted to the man for his blessing.[203] Fighting would be an ungrateful act for his kindness. In other words fighting, a form of military competition, would not be possible after having entered into a social competition where Artuhi, as the one offering the food—that is, the host and "gift giver"—would be in a socially superior position over Ahmed Danişmend.[204] From the beginning of the narrative, a form of commensal politics is implemented in drawing the limits between us and them.[205]

As the narrative continues, this emphasis on the political dimensions of commensal hospitality repeats itself in the form of feasting. Six feasts are described in detail in the narrative: two are given by Ahmed Danişmend for his companions—for the wedding of Artuhi and Efrumiyye and for his own wedding with Gülnuş Banu;[206] three are given by the two most powerful Byzantine dignitaries in the narrative, Şah-ı Şattat and Nastor; and one is given by Puthil, the sultan of Trebizond.[207] The banquets of Şah-ı Şattat, Nastor, and Puthil are organized to host the commanders and rulers of cities and nations who have come to help them against Ahmed Danişmend and his companions. They were probably the type of feasts given during military expeditions.[208]

While it is clear that these feasts are viewed as mechanisms of social solidarity that serve to create a sense of community, the careful choice of hosts offering their hospitality reflects the feasts also being viewed as symbols of

203 In this instance, "His beautiful words and the morality of his religion bewilders Artuhi and makes him fall in love with the religion of Melik Danişmend." Demir, *Danişmendnam*e, 1:11, lines 12b–13a: "Ol yigit çünkim taam yimege turdı, gördi kim Melik Danişmend'ün taamı yokdur ki yiye. Derhal ol yigit sofrayı götürdi, turdı, Melik Danişmend'ün katına geldi. Eytdi kim: 'Ey pehlevan! Gel taam yiyelüm,' didi. Melik ol taama sunmadı. Ol yigit eytdi: 'Neçün yimezsin?' Melik eytdi: 'Bu taama süci degmişdür, ben yimezem,' didi. Andan ol yigit eytdi, 'Sen ayru yigil,' didi. Melik eytdi: 'Olmaz, zira senün taamundan yirsem veli nimetüm olursın.' Didi. 'Yarın senün ile ceng itmek olmaz. Eger ceng idersem küfran-ı nimet oluram,' didi. Ol yiğit Melih Danişmend'ün fasahatına ve belagatına acebe kalup eytdi."

204 On the social competition aspect of commensality and feasting, see Dietler, "Feasting and Fasting," 180–183.

205 Michael Dietler, "Feasts and Commensal Politics in the Political Economy: Food, Power and Status in Prehistoric Europe," in *Food and the Status Quest: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, ed. Polly Wiessner and Wulf Schiefenhövel (Oxford 1996), 87–125.

206 For the wedding of Artuhi and Efrumiyye, see Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:86–90, lines 105a–108a; for the wedding of Danişmend with Gülnuş Banu, 156–160, lines 197a–199a.

207 For the feasts of Şah-ı Sattat and Nastor, see ibid., 1:59–61, lines 69b–70b; 114, line 140b; lines 141–142, lines 176b–177b; for the feast of Puthil, 196–198, lines 243a–b.

208 On food provision for daily consumption and feasts during military expeditions, see *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, ed. and trans. John F. Haldon (Vienna 1990), 88–89, 126–129, 130–133.

power, thus serving to create and define differences in status. In the *Danişmendname*, all the feasts are given by the most powerful actors: Şah-ı Şattat, Nastor, Puthil, and Ahmed Danişmend. In a way these hosts are perceived as equals in terms of power and superiority. The guests' inferior status is reflected especially in the feasts of Ahmed Danişmend, where Danişmend sits on a higher level and receives the greetings of his guests, who are only allowed to take their seats after he grants them permission.[209]

The political aspect of feasting is well known in Byzantium as well as in Muslim societies. The Byzantine emperors and aristocrats organized ostentatious banquets as propagandistic displays of wealth and power. It was common to invite representatives from vanquished peoples or foreign ambassadors to imperial banquets, to exhibit imperial power and the capacity to rule over the inhabited world, oikoumene. Thus, products from all over the world were procured for serving at the imperial table. The most powerful aristocratic families copied such imperial banquets as occasions to highlight the extent of their cliental connections and the greatness of their fortune. For guests, Byzantine banquets allowed them to assess their position in the social hierarchy, as they were seated at the table according to their social status.[210]

When the Seljuks of Rum moved their court between seasonal capitals, they held ceremonies, lavish banquets, and other spectacles in locations between cities, at the entrance of cities, and sometimes at caravanserais to signify their widespread presence, power, and control.[211] A similar political aspect of food distribution can be seen in the free food provided at the palaces of Ottoman princes, the homes of wealthy and powerful people, and the imarets. These charitable endeavors were not only inspired by Muslims' obligation to do good, but also served to define, confirm, and reinforce social and economic hierarchies.[212]

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209 Demir, Danişmendname, 1:156, line 197a: "Melik evvel geçüp sadra oturdı. Çalışup honsalar aşı yitürdi. Ne denlü ulu begler var gelürler. Melik'e karşu ayağın tururlar. Melik buyurdı hep anlar oturdı."

210 Caseau, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes.* 209–219; Michael Grünbart, "Spartans and Sybarites at the Golden Horn: Food as Necessity and/or Luxury," in *Material Culture and Well-being in Byzantium, 400–1453: Proceedings of the International Conference, Cambridge, 8–10 September 2001*, ed. Michael Grünbart, Ewald Kislinger, and Anna Muthesius (Vienna 2007), 138; Simon Malmberg, "Dazzling Dining: Banquets as an Expression of Imperial Legitimacy," in Brubaker and Linardou, *Eat, Drink and Be Merry*, 75–89; Magdalino, "Court Society and Aristocracy," 214–215; Franz Hermann Tinnefield, "Ceremonies for Foreign Ambassadors at the Court of Byzantium and Their Political Background," *BF* 19 (1993): 193–213.

211 Pancaroğlu, "Devotion, Hospitality and Architecture," 54.

212 For the communal meal, banquet tradition in Islamic societies, see Geert Jan van Gelder, "Banquet," *EI*^{3}, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23572 (accessed May 26, 2019). For the role of Ottoman festivals (*sur*s) as imperial propaganda in presenting the

What distinguishes the feasts of Ahmed Danişmend from those of Byzantine dignitaries is the frequency of the feasts and the types of food served. The Byzantines' excessive feasting and copious amounts of "weird and disgusting" food contrasts with the few feasts Danişmend held to display his wealth "appropriately."[213] The "appropriate" display of wealth confirms Danişmend's superior position over his companions. He does not throw feasts on every occasion, and even hesitated to do so for his own marriage to Gülnuş Banu. He did so after his companions demanded it of him:

> Ahmed Danişmend brought the military judge and had a legal marriage with Gülnuş Banu. Gazis and the venerable ones came before Danişmend and said, "We want a wedding feast and to be hosted." Danişmend said, "Aye sires, everything I have is yours."[214]

The appropriate display of wealth by hosting feasts, only when demanded by the companions of Ahmed Danişmend in the *Danişmendname*, contrasts with excessively frequent feasts and banquets (*şölen, toy*) and gathering for eating and drinking (*yeme içme*) mentioned in the *Book of Dedem of Korkut*, in which the events take place in the fourteenth century-Turcoman space on the borders

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power and riches of the state or empire to different social milieus within and to foreign dignitaries, see Esin Atıl, "Surname-i Vehbi: An Eighteenth Century Ottoman Book of Festivals" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1969), 1:340–376; for the list of the Ottoman festivals from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, see ibid., 387–389. For general information on the *Surname-i Hümayun* (Book of Festivities), an Ottoman tradition of depicting the festivals organized celebrating the birth, circumcision, and wedding ceremonies of the children of the Ottoman sultans, see Hatice Aynur, "Surname," *TDVİA* 37:565–567; On food served in the Ottoman festival of 1582, see Nurhan Atasoy, *1582: Surname-i Hümayun. An Imperial Celebration* (Istanbul 1997), 118–122. For charity, offerings of free food and the role of Ottoman public kitchens as integral components of the Ottoman project of settlement, colonization, legitimization, and urban development, see Singer, "Serving Up Charity," 481–500; Amy Singer, "The 'Michelin Guide' to Public Kitchens in the Ottoman Empire," *Interdisciplinary Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 16 (2010): 69–92.

213 Benjamin Moulet states that in the Byzantine world, a "gourmand," someone who takes great pleasure and interest in consuming good food and drink, was first and most a member of the Byzantine elite, Benjamin Moulet, "Gourmandise et excès alimentaires à Byzance," in *Le saint, Le moine et le paysan: mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Michel Kaplan*, in Delouis, Métivier, and Pagès, *Le Saint, le moine et le paysan*, 524. Also see Caseau, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes*, 195–208; Lynda Garland, "The Rhetoric of Gluttony and Hunger in Twelfth-Century Byzantium," in *Feast, Fast or Famine: Food and Drink in Byzantium*, ed. Wendy Mayer and Silke Trzcionka (Brisbane 2005), 43–55.

214 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1: 156, line 196b: "Melik Danişmend leşker kadısın getürüp Gülnuş Banu'yı kendine akd u nikah kıldurdı. Gaziler ve serverler Melik'in huzuruna gelüp: 'Bize toy dügün ve konukluk gerek,' didiler. Melik eytdi: 'Baş üstine. Nem varısa hep sizündür,' didi."

of Georgia and Trebizond.[215] Lovers or engaged couples meet and are depicted as eating, drinking and engaging in *işret*, alchohol consumption, one of the activities defining the "otherness" of the Byzantines in the *Danişmendname*.[216] In the *Book of Dedem of Korkut*, begs meet at *meyhane* and inns where they eat and drink for several days.[217] In the *Book of Dedem Korkut,* eating and drinking together seem to be important social activities, but they are not perceived as religious rituals as in the *Danişmendname*, where they define one's faith. Food and commensality do not serve as a cultural and social boundary distinguishing between us and them. They rather seem to be acts that help to enforce the internal cohesion of the Oghuz tribes.

In the Danişmendname, as regards the food served, the listing of "strange" and "filthy" food items coupled with terminology used for the act of eating in the Byzantine feasts reflect how food and drink destroyed by ingestion in the human body was seen as related to the innate nature of a human being or of a group. It is through the symbolic role of "filthy" and "obscure" food that the "impure" and "contaminated" nature of the "other" is constructed. In the *Danişmendname*, the Byzantine act of eating is described as eating and drinking snake poison (*zehr-i mar yidiler, içdiler*),[218] as well as indulging in wasteful extravagance of eating and drinking (*ıyş-ı nuş*) and revelry.[219] The food eaten by Ahmed Danişmend and his companions, whether during feasts or at ordinary meals, is described as *taam* (food properly prepared or meat properly slaughtered).[220]

After the act of eating, the ritual worship (*namaz*) is conducted. Sometimes the Qur'an is recited by the *hafız* (one who knows the Qur'an by heart) or guests recite the Qur'an (*hatim*) or pray.[221] In one of the passages describing a feast hosted by Ahmed Danişmend, it is noted that a prayer should accompany the end of every meal, and after the prayer, one should recite the verse calling for

215 Tezcan, Boeschoten, *Dede Korkut Oğuznameleri,* 66, 89, 138, 139, 187.

216 Ibid., 133.

217 Ibid., 167.

218 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:27, line 30a; 33, line 38a; 100, line 122b; 104–105, line 128b; 118, line 144a; 145–146, line 182b; 147–148, line 185a; 160, line 200a; 196–197, line 243a.

219 Ibid., 1:15–16, lines 19b; 38–39, line 44b; 90, line 108a; 196–197, line 243a; 198, line244b.

220 Ibid., 1:11, line 12b; 14–15, line 18a; 20–22, line 25b; 1:28–29, line 32b; 33–34, line 38a; 125–126, line 153a; 135, line 166b; 157–158, line 198a; 201, line 248a; 208, line 255b. For taam meaning food and nourishment, see Geert Jan H. Van Gelder, "Taam" *EI*[2] 10:4–5. For taam as meat from a properly slaughtered animal, see Freidenreich, *Foreigners and Their Food*, 148.

221 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:21–22, line 25b; 70, line 84a; 28 line 32b; 41–42, lines 47a–b; 50, line 57b; 65–66, line 76b; 78, line 93b; 89, line 107b; 105, line 128b; 119, lines 145b–146a; 135, line 166b; 149, line 187b; 180, line 225a; 188, line 233b; 193–194, lines 240a–241b; 201, line 248a.

God to protect the Prophet (*salavat*).[222] Thus, the act of eating is considered an act of piety, a religious ritual that sanctifies those eating and consuming the food.[223] Yet the Byzantines, having the wrong faith, pray falsely to the Messiah, calling him God, or they pray to idols (Menat and Lat) during their feasts.[224] They do not eat, but intoxicate themselves with "obscure" and "impure" food.[225] Hence their eating habits and their false faith are linked.

What were those "strange" and "contagious" foods of the Byzantines? The menus of the four Byzantine feasts in the *Danişmendname* resemble each other in terms of the extensive consumption of fish, shellfish, vegetables, pork, and wine. One of the feast menus includes truffles (*tomalan mantarı*),[226] today also called *tomalan* or *keme* in central Anatolia, especially around Konya, Karaman, and Aksaray, and in the southeastern region of Turkey. This is probably the same as *hydnon*, which one sees in Byzantine sources, which was considered a nutritious delicacy by the Byzantine nobility and upper classes.[227] Another item mentioned in one of the menus is the ox tripe (*sığır işkembesi*).[228] One of the Byzantine feasts from the *Danişmendname* is described as follows:

> Nastor and Şattat hosted them (the lords of the armies from seven nations) and gave them a feast. Nastor commanded, and they brought food and drinks, and they drank. The infidel lords are gathered and hosted by Nastor. Everyone took his seat and was served individually. The food of the infidel lords had been prepared. Here is the food they ate, for you to hear: They brought all the food. In the middle the salted meat was placed. There was onion, garlic, cheese and caviar, leek (*kendene*)[229] spiced with

222 Ibid., 1:157–158, line 198a: "Taam ki yinse pes ahir duadur. Duadan sonra salavat revadur."

223 Pancaroğlu, "Devotion, Hospitality and Architecture," 69–71, notes how in the ahi lodges of fourteenth-century Anatolia, the offering and consumption of food were contextually related to religious activities ranging from the recitation of the Qur'an to more performative expressions of mystical devotion.

224 Menat (Manat) and Lat were two of the three most venerated deities of the Arabic Pre-Islamic pantheon. The third one is al-Uzza. For Manat, see T. Fahd, "Manat," *EI*^{2} 6:373–374. For Lat, see idem, "Al-Lat," *EI*^{2} 5:692–693.

225 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:60, line 70a and 141–142, line 177a, respectively: "Bu resm ile o sohbetde yidiler. Mesih'e Hakk diyü şükr iylediler. Lahana turşısı batlıcan idi. Yiyenler anı hep batıl canıdı," and "Sala oldı ol aşlardan yidiler. Menat'a Lat'a çok şükür didiler,"

226 Ibid., 1:114, line 140b.

227 Ilias Anagnostakis, "Byzantine Delicacies," in *Flavours and Delights: Tastes and Pleasures of Ancient and Byzantine Cuisine*, ed. Ilias Anagnostakis (Athens 2013), 83–84. In the eleventh century, Michael Psellos was among those who considered truffles a nutritious treat. See *Letter KD* 233, in Kaldellis, *Mothers and Sons: Fathers and Daughters*, 171–172.

228 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:114, line 140b.

229 For kendene translated as leek, see Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend* 1:277.

> all sorts of herbs (*tere tarhun*), bugs with hard shells (*kabuklu böcek*), and rat kebab and red wine from the land of the Franks;[230] crayfish stew (*kerevüd kalyası*) and cabbage meal; the fish head and beet meal (*çökündür aşı*).[231] Then they served all kinds of pork and also leek (*peraze*) and raisin-cheese (*küfter*)[232] with caviar. Limitless variety of dried fish was served, yet mackerel (*uskumrı balığı*) was in abundance, lots of broad bean, chickpeas, and lentils and all sorts of food of obscure genesis. They put all in big wooden bowls, serving them with garnishes. Eating lots of pickled cabbage and eggplant, they thanked Messiah calling him God. All those who ate there had the wrong faith. During that gathering at night, everyone got drunk and passed out.[233]

The "properly" prepared menu of Ahmed Danişmend's feasts on the other hand had all kinds of meat (except pork), rice, pastries, and lots of sweet desserts. The wedding menu of Danişmend and Gülnuş Banu is as follows:

> And then Danişmend commanded, and his stewards slaughtered a thousand sheep, five hundred goats, three hundred oxen, two hundred camels and one hundred fifty horses. They made dough from ten thousand

230 On wine production in the Byzantine Empire, see Michel Kaplan, "La viticulture byzantine VIIe au XIe siècle," in *Olio e vino nell'alto medioevo: Spoleto 20–26 aprile 2006* (Spoleto 2007), 163–207.

231 Kerevüd kalyası is a stew made with crayfish and vegetables. See Demir, *Danişmendname*, 3:173. On çökündür aşı, see Demir, *Danişmendname*, 3:145.

232 Küfter, a kind of grape-cheese made by boiling down grape juice and drying it in thin cakes. See Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend* 1:277n2. In modern Turkish, it is called *üzüm pestili* and in the region of Niğde, it is locally named as *üzüm köfteri*.

233 Demir, *Danişmendname,* 1: 59–60, lines 69a–70a: "Nastor ve Şattat şad oldılar. Bunlara azim konukluk idüp toyladılar. Nastor buyurdı, bezm aletini getürüp içgüye turdılar. Pes ol kafir begleri cem oldılar; Nastor'un konuklugına geldiler; Geçüp oturdılar yirlü yirine; Konuklık oldı anun her birine; Döküldi honı kafir beglerinün; İşitgil adını sen her birinün; Getürdiler kamu nimetlerini; Koyup ortaya tuzlı etlerini; Soğan u sarmısak peynir ü havyar; Tere tarhun içinde kendene var; Kabuklu böcük ü sıçan kebebı; Firengistan'un ol kızıl şarabı; Kerevüd kalyası lahana aşı; Balık başı y-ıla çökündür aşı; Gelür yanına dahı tonuz etleri; Dahı havyarla peraze küfteri; Kurı balığa hod hisab yog-ıdı; Uskumrı balığı inen çoğ-idi; Dahı bakla nohud u mercemekle; Nice adı belürsüz çok yimekle Ağaç tirkiler ile tezyin idüp; Getürürlerdi ortaya tonatup; Bu resm ile o sohbetde yidiler; Mesih'e Hakk diyü şükr iylediler; Lahana turşısı batlıcan idi; Yiyenler anı hep batıl canıdı; O sohbet ol gice çünkim kurıldı; İçüp serhoş olup sankim kırıldı." In Mélikoff's edition a similar menu is given with the omission of food being served in wooden bowls but with an addition of a remark that these food can only be eaten by city dwellers. Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 2:200: "belirsüz adi çok derisem olmaz: ki şehr ademisi yerise ölmez."

batman of flour.[234] They have cleaned ten thousand batman of rice. They have brought five hundred batman of salt, ten *müd* of onion, eight müd of chickpeas, ten thousand *dirhem* of saffron, five hundred batman of starch, a thousand batman of honey, a thousand batman of *yağ*.[235] They have supplied five hundred batman of grapes, four hundred batman of figs, three hundred batman of plums, two hundred batman of apricot, a hundred batman of wheat, a hundred *vakiyye* of almond, two hundred vakiyye of dates, a hundred *kile* of *gendüme,*[236] and one thousand lambs to make four hundred kile of *keşkek*, *herise*.[237] At that time Melik Danişmend had 30,000 warriors… They cooked, they came together and played music… . Melik came and sat in the highest place. The cooks used every effort in cooking. All the great lords came. [They] stood in front of Melik in respect. Melik then asked everyone to sit. The cooks brought the food… The roasted lambs were stuffed. The outside and inside of the meat was all well cooked. They chopped them up in plates. They put stew on trays. There were meals with beef and chickpeas (*zülbiye*), and then [they ate] *samsa,*[238] *zerde, zirve* and birinc *borani.*[239] The cauldrons were

234 Batman, kile, vakiyye (okka), müd, and dirhem were measurements used in the late Seljuk and Ottoman periods. It is difficult to determine the exact time during which these weights began to be used in Anatolia. The period between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries are especially hard to study in terms of the value of these weights due to the lack of sources. I would like to thank Oğuz Tekin for his kind assistance on this issue. For general information on these measures, see Garo Kürkman, ed., *Anatolian Weights and Measures* (Istanbul 2003). Also see Cengiz Kallek, "Batman," *TDVİA* 5:99–200. Kile is used to measure fruits and grain; idem, "Kile," *TDVİA* 25:568–571; idem, "Okka," *TDVİA* 33:338–339. Müd is mainly used to weigh grains and legumes; idem, "Müd," *TDVİA* 31:457–459; Halil Sahillioğlu, "Dirhem," *TDVİA* 9:368–371.

235 Yağ means "oil" in Turkish. It can refer to animal fat, butter, and vegetable oil, but the text does not specify if it is vegetable oil (*zeytinyağ*, *susam yağı* etc.) or butter (*tereyağ*).

236 Gendüme is a meal made by grinding wheat or barley in a mortar. Demir, *Danişmendname*, 3:156.

237 Herise and keşkek (*keshkeg*) are two names for the same dish, which is popular in Persian, Armenian, and Turkish kitchens. Skinless whole grain wheat is soaked in water overnight. The following day it is drained and combined in a cauldron with chicken or lamb and water. The mixture is then cooked for several hours and then beaten for several more, until it attains the consistency of porridge. For the important place of herise in the sixteenth-century Armenian kitchen and feasts, see Gosharian, "Blending In and Separating Out," 57–60.

238 Samsa is a triangular shaped phyllo pastry. Today in Turkey, it is the name of a sweet dish similar to baklava. I thank Özge Samancı for this information.

239 Zerde is a sweet jelly made with sugared rice and flavored with saffron; zirve (*zireba-zırva*) is meat stew flavored with cumin and birinc borani is a meal made with rice, yoghurt and garlic. Demir, *Danişmendname*, 3:, 214–215, 140; Özge Samancı in our personal talk

filled with soudjouk meat balls.[240] There were also sour soups, and keşkek and herise was presented. The floured chicken soup was distributed in bowls, also *kalyalı, tutmaç* and *erişte* ... ;[241] [While cooking] they put in a lot of minced meat, and also much honey vinegar mixed with honey, and filled it with lots of walnuts and topped it with lots of almonds. There were also a lot of sweetmeats. They have chopped the meat of the heads [and put it] in garlic vinegar sauce. Rice with vermicelli and *helva* filled the tinned copper trays.[242] They put lots of fig and apricot in sour dishes, as well as raisins and dates. Roasted goose chicken and pigeons decorated the trays; *kete* and all kinds of well-buttered cakes;[243] *katmer* and well-buttered *börek*s;[244] *Tarhana* and sour soup with yogurt and bulgur rice as much as one desired... ;[245] When everything was brought, they were asked to eat everything as it was an invitation. When permission was given, everybody began to eat. They first ate the grilled meat and then rice...

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mentioned that zirve /*zırva* during the classical Ottoman cuisine was a meat dish cooked with dried apricots and raisins. For borani, see also Ömer Uzunağaç, *Selçuklu Anadolu'sunda Beslenme ve Yemek Kültürü*, (Istanbul 2015), 109–110.

240 Sucuk, soudjouk, is pepperoni-like, spicy Turkish-style sausage. Sucuklar köfteli may also mean sucukiçi köfte, meatball, which has garlic instead of onion in it.

241 Kalya (*kalye*) refers to vegetables (mainly zucchini, eggplant) cooked in oil. Demir, *Danişmendname*, 3:170. For kalya, see also Uzunağaç, *Selçuklu Anadolu'sunda Beslenme ve Yemek Kültürü*, 110–111. Erişte is homemade pasta. Tutmaç is soup, made mainly with wheat and meat. For its preparation, see Uzunağaç, *Selçuklu Anadolu'sunda Beslenme ve Yemek Kültürü,* 99–101.

242 Helva refers to sweet food and is a generic name given to all types of sweet meals. For the definition of the term and different types of sweets called helva, see Priscilla Mary Işın, *Gülbeşeker: Türk Tatluları Tarihi* (Istanbul 2009), 150–195; eadem, *Sherbets and Spice: The Complete Story of Turkish Sweets and Desserts* (New York 2013); Ömür Tufan, "Helvahane ve Osmanlı'da Helva Kültürü," *Türk Mutfağı*, ed. Arif Bilgin and Özge Samancı (Ankara 2008), 125–135.

243 Kete is a pastry made with fermented or unfermented batter dough and baked over hot ashes. Demir, *Danişmendname*, 3:173. Özge Samancı told in our personal talk that today in eastern Turkey, they put a sauce made from butter and flour inside kete after it is baked.

244 Katmer is folded phyllo pastry flavored with butter or heavy cream (*kaymak*). See Demir, *Danişmendname*, 3:172. Börek is the name given to a variety of filled pastries.

245 Turkish tarhana, Greek *trachanas*, or Byzantine *chondros*, *tragos*, *tarchana* is described in texts as a kind of milky cake and was used in Byzantine as well as in modern Greek and Turkish cooking after being dried and ground. Johannes Koder, "Everyday Food in the Middle Byzantine Period," in *Flavours and Delights*, 145; For Byzantine tarhana, see Stephen Hill and Anthony A.M. Bryer, "Byzantine Porridge: Tracta, Trachanas and Tarhana," in *Food in Antiquity*, ed. John Wilkins et al. (Exeter 1995), 44–54. On a recipe of Byzantine tarhana, see Andrew Dalby, trans., *Geoponika: Farm Work* (Totnes 2011), 107.

> They prayed after the meal, and they called God's protection on the Prophet.[246]

As one can see, contrary to the menus of the feasts, given by Ahmed Danişmend, the Byzantine menus do not include meat varieties, fruits, pastry, sweets and rice. The Byzantine courses are described as generally based on fish, shellfish, vegetables, and dried beans, which in fact somewhat reflect wealthy Byzantine aristocratic tables during periods of religious fasting, which entailed the major regulation of alimentary consumption. The Byzantine ecclesiastical calendar recognized four yearly fasting periods: Christmas, forty days; Easter/Lent, forty days; Holy Apostles, five to twenty-five days; and Dormition of Mary/Koimesis, fourteen days. Wednesdays and Fridays were additional fasts days, and monastic circles had their own fast days. All totaled, fasting days added up to 170 a year.

Byzantine fasting did not require total abstinence from eating and drinking from sunrise to sunset as in Islam, but rather abstinence from meat, poultry, and sometimes dairy products. On some occasions, fish and wine were also forbidden. Vegetables, bread, and cereals were allowed.[247] Byzantines very

246 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1: 155–159, lines 196b–198b: "Andan Melik buyurdı ve vekil-i harclar gelüp bin koyun, biş yüz keçi, üç yüz öküz, iki yüz deve, yüz elli at boğazladılar. On bin batman undan yufka yapıldı. On bin batman birinc ayırtlandı. Biş yüz batman tuz, on müd soğan, sekiz müd nohud, on bin dirhem zaferan, biş yüz batman nişasta, bin batman bal, bin batman yag hazır itdiler. Biş yüz batman üzüm, dört yüz batman encir, üç yüz batman erük, iki yüz batman kayısı, yüz batman bugday, yüz vakiyye badem, iki yüz vakiyye hurma, yüz kile gendüme, heriselik dört yüz kile keşkeklik, iri uvak bin kuzı tedarik itdiler. Melik Danişmendin ol tarihde 30000 askeri varıdı.…Yarak kıldılar, aşlar bişürdiler, sahraya cem olup nakareler çaldılar. Leşker dirleyüp şadılıklar ile düğün içün biraraya geldiler. Melik evvel geçüp sadra oturdı; Çalışup honsalar aşı yitürdi; Ne denlü ulu begler var gelürler; Melik'e karşu ayagın tururlar; Melik buyurdı hep anlar oturdı; Bu yana honsalar aşı yitürdi … Çevirme kuzıların dolmış içi; Katı hub bişmişidi taşı içi; Sahanlar içre anı togradılar; Dahı tepsilere yahni kodılar; Kotardılar denelü zülbiyelü; Dahı üstüne samsalar dürilü; Ki zerde zirve vü birinc boranı; Sucuklar köfteli tolu herani; Dahı varıdı ekşi şürveleri; Çanaklara kotarılmışdı varı; Dahı kalyalu tutmaç u erüşde … ; Şu denlu kıyma komışlar içine, dahı sirkelü bal konmış içine; Dahı içine katmışlar koz için; Dahı üstine dökmiş badem için; Dahı varıdı şekker saçılu aşlar; Sarımsak sirkeli tograndı başlar; Dene erüşde kalyalu birinclü; Ki helva sinilerle tolu tolu; Hem ekşi aşda encir kayısı çok; Kuru üzüm ile hurmasu artuk; Çevirme kaz tavuk dahı gögercin; Ki zeyn itmişler tebsi için; Kete vü küliçe yağlu çörekler; Dahı katmer ile yağlu börekler; Dahı tarhana bozca şürve-y-ile; Dene bulguru hod kim ala dile … Kamusın kodılar yirlü yirinçe. Yürüyüş kıldılar anı görinçe. Getürdiler çün ortaya kamusın. Didiler kim saladur yin kamusın. Çü destur oldı hona sundılar el. Yidiler pes çevürmeleri evvel. Yürüyüş kıldılar dane birince; Tagıtdılar anı hay huy diyinçe … Taam ki yinse pes ahir duadur. Duadan sonra salavat revadur."

247 Caseau, *Nourriture terrestres, nourritures célestes*, 174–191; Grünbart, "Spartans and Sybarites at the Golden Horn," 137; Koder, "Everyday Food in the Middle Byzantine Period," 140–141.

much appreciated shellfish during fast days.[248] The vegetable-dominated Byzantine menu stemmed form the church's prescriptions for fasting days and also the cheap price of vegetables. Vegetables and dried beans were the most accessible food for the poor.[249] The dominance of vegetables on the Byzantine table has been interpreted as a love for vegetables. For instance, in a letter written by the Byzantine theologian and influential stateman Demetrios Kydones (ca.1324–ca.1398) to Isidoros Glabas (1341–1396), metropolitan of Thessalonica in 1382/83, Kydones says that the Romaioi (Byzantines) are more interested in the vegetables at the market than in high theological reflection.[250]

Yet the *Danişmendname's* lists of Byzantine feast foods are not very accurate fasting menus, as all of them include all sorts of courses prepared and served with pork, whereas during fast days, all sorts of meat were prohibited. In fact, Byzantine fasting in the *Danişmendname* is mentioned only in relation to the monks, who are loathed for their filthiness—not washing their hands and behinds and not cutting their beards, moustaches, and hair—and for excessive fasting.[251] The readers are informed that some monks have not tasted meat in their lives, and some only ate it once a week.[252] Ahmed Danişmend fasts only

248 On fish consumption in Byzantium, especially in Constantinople, see Gilbert Dagron, "Poissons, pêcheurs et poissonniers de Constantinople," in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland: Papers from the Twenty-seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993*, ed. Gilbert Dagron and Cyril Mango (Aldershot 1995), 57–77; Koder, "Everyday Food in the Middle Byzantine Period," 147; Andrew Dalby, *Flavours of Byzantium* (Blackawton 2003), 67, 93–94.

249 On vegetables in the Byzantine cuisine, see Johannes Koder, *Gemüse in Byzanz: Die Versorgung Konstantinopels mit Frischgemüse im Lichte der Geoponika* (Vienna 1993); idem, "Fresh Vegetables for the Capital," in Dagron and Mango, *Constantinople and Its Hinterland*, 49–56. On vegetables as cheap food items for the poor, see Evelyne Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4e–7e siècles* (Paris 1977), 36–53.

250 Johannes Koder, "Stew and Salted Meat-Opulent Normality in the Diet of Everyday?" in Brubaker and Linardou, *Eat, Drink and Be Merry*, 67; *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, ed. Raymond Joseph Loenertz, vol. 2 (Vatican City 1956–60), 2.132, epistle 235.

251 For a similar critic of the long beards of the Byzantine monks by Western Christians, see Nicola Drocourt, "Au nez et à la barbe de l'ambassadeur: cheveux, poils et pilosité dans les contacts diplomatiques entre Byzance et l'Occident (VIe–XIIe s.)," in *Byzanz und das Abendland IV. Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia*, ed. Erika Juhász (Budapest 2016), 122. On hair and beards being a subject of schism between Latin West and Byzantium, see Marie-France Auzépy, "Prolégomènes à une histoire du poil," in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron* (Paris 2002), 9–19; For hair and beard in the Byzantine world, see George Sidéris, "Jouer du poil à Byzance: anges, eunuques et femmes déguisées en moines," *in Histoire du Poil*, ed. Marie-France Auzépy and Joël Cornette (Paris 2011), 93–114. For a general approach on hair and beards as marking cultural otherness, see Christian Bromberger, *Trichologiques: une anthropologie des cheveux et des poils* (Paris 2010), 115–123.

252 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:45, line 50b: "ve ol diyr içinde üç yüz altmış ruhban varıdı. Bu melunun gerçi anması galizdür, amma hikayete münasibdür. Makadlarına su degürmemişlerdi. Ömürleründe hergiz et yimemişler. Sureta adem, lakin fiilleri div idi"; 49, line 56a:

once in the narrative: the day before performing a miracle for the people of Sisiyye, who demand that he does so as a prerequisite for their conversion to Islam.[253]

Due to the presence of pork in the depiction of the Byzantine menus in the *Danişmendname*, one could perhaps correctly assume that these were not menus for fasting periods. That said, why is pork the only meat on the menus? Did the Byzantines not eat other types of meat? What about sweets and fruits? Why are there no sweets or fruits on the Byzantine menus? Didn't they have a sweet tooth? The listings, while reflecting the Byzantine aristocratic diet in part, consciously omit varieties of meat, poultry, sweets, and fruits found on Byzantine aristocratic tables. The *Danişmendname* rather purposely emphasizes pork, the bitter taste of the Byzantine diet, and the consumption of shellfish. The omission of a variety of meats and sugar plus the emphasis on pork and shellfish in the Byzantine menus probably represent a symbolic means of signaling the otherness of the Byzantines.

3.5.3 Meat

The approach to meat in Byzantium was contradictory. On the one hand, Christian teaching emphasizes the importance of fasting and diet for the devout Christian, who has to discipline the desires of his/her body and abstain from meat, which was perceived as desirable, joy- and comfort-giving aphrodisiac.[254] As noted above, the Byzantines were not allowed to eat meat on fast days. Pastoral way of life was considered by the Byzantines a barbaric way of life, which also involved primarily consuming animal products, such as meat and cheese. For instance, the Byzantine Paphlagonians, who had pastoral life and such a diet, were viewed as provincial barbarians.[255] Although meat and poultry were generally prohibited at all times for monks and for good Christians

"Anda üc ruhban olurdı. Gayet perhizkarlar idi, heftede bir kez iftar iderlerdi. Her birinün ömrinden yüz elli yıl geçmişdi"; 94, line 114a: "Pes Kayirbil rahib meydana girdi, şöyle kim atını haçlarla bezemiş. Ömründe elini suya degürmemiş, bıyığı agzını örtmiş, sakalı it kuyruğı gibi yapagulanmış, gayet uzamış. Bir şekl-i kabih ve bir heybet idi kim şöyle kim bir dive benzerdi ve şeytan suretin düzmege andan sebak alırdı. Bir şekl-i habisle ol melun ibn-i melun Melik Danişmend'e karşu turdı."

253 Ibid., 1:181–182, lines 225b–226a. According to Nicholas Trépanier, the Muslims in fourteenth-century medieval Anatolia did not scrupulously practice the ritual of fasting during the month of Ramadan, one of the obligatory acts of Islam, see Trépanier, *Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia*, 106–108; idem, "Starting without Food," 1–23.

254 Caseau, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes*, 151–169.

255 Messis, "Au pays des merveilles alimentaires," 169.

during fast days, meat and meat courses were enjoyed by most Byzantines, and they were status symbols of wealth and power on the aristocratic table.[256]

As fresh meat was expensive, common people acquired it only to celebrate feast days.[257] The Byzantine sources show that the Byzantines, especially aristocrats, consumed not only pork, but also ox, buffalo, sheep, and goat as well as hens, cockerels, and other fowl, including quail, pigeon, partridge, and peafowl.[258] Meat stew, *monokythron* (*yahni,* in Turkish), usually lamb, was a hot feast meal popular among the imperial and aristocratic sets. Common people consumed it on feast days.[259] Although vegetables were prominent elements of Byzantine cuisine among all social classes, meat was more highly regarded, as it was thought to taste better.[260] Fresh meat and fowl were among the prestigious gifts that aristocrats sent to one another.[261] Meat was additionally considered a necessity among the military class, to which the Byzantines in the *Danişmendname* belonged, because of its high protein. In the *Three Treaties on Imperial Military Expeditions*, suckling lambs, rams, cattle, chickens, and geese were listed for the imperial table. The military diet provided troops on the march or in battle consisted of bread, salted pork, mutton, wine, sour wine, fish, cheese, and oil. Since meat quickly turned bad, military campaigns habitually traveled with live animals.[262]

Scholars have pointed out an increase in Byzantine meat consumption, especially post-eleventh century, and consequently breeding, in particular

256 On meat and poultry prohibitions in the monasteries, see Caseau, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes,* 258–270; Alice Mary Talbot, "Mealtime in Monasteries," in Brubaker and Linardou*, Eat, Drink and Be Merry,* 109–125. On meat on wealthy aristocratic tables, see Caseau, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes,* 150–164.

257 Koder, "Everyday Food in the Middle Byzantine Period," 145–147; Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 25–46.

258 Dalby, *Flavours of Byzantium*, 70–71; Maria Leontsini, "Hens, Cockerels and Other Choice Fowl: Everyday Food and Gastronomic Pretensions in Byzantium," in Anagnostakis, *Flavours and Delights*, 113–132.

259 Koder, "Stew and Salted Meat," 59; Koder, "Everyday Food in the Middle Byzantine Period," 144–145.

260 Koder, "Stew and Salted Meat," 71; Ilias Anagnostakis, "Timarion," in Anagnostakis, *Flavours and Delights*, 111.

261 Benjamin Moulet, "Le goût des autres: correspondances gourmandes et culture du goût à Byzance," in *L'échange: journées de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme Ange-Guépin* (*Nantes, 21–22 mai 2007*), ed. John Tolan (Paris 2009), 168–169.

262 *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, 88–89; John F. Haldon, "Feeding the Army: Food and Transport in Byzantium, ca. 600–1100," in Mayer and Trzcionka, *Feast, Fast or Famine,* 86; Michael Grünbart, "Store in a Cool and Dry Place: Perishable Goods and Their Preservation in Byzantium," in Brubaker and Linardou, *Eat, Drink and Be Merry*, 45–48.

sheep.[263] Lamb might have been the preferred meat, but pork was one of the most frequently consumed meats in Byzantine society.[264] Pigs are easy to feed, because they will eat almost anything, even the remains of slaughtered pigs, and they provide a lot of meat.[265] Thus as reflected in the Byzantine sources, pork was not, as the *Danişmendname* implies, the only type of meat the Byzantines consumed. So why does the *Danişmendname* ignore other types of meat and emphasize pork consumption in the Byzantine diet?

Pork is not only mentioned as a feast item, but also serves in the *Danişmendname* as a means of characterizing the Byzantines. For example, the official letters that Byzantine dignitaries sent to each other open with the expression "Titi miti tonuz eti" (Titi miti the meat of pork) or "Titi miti sunb-ı har-ı İsa" (Titi miti the hoof of the donkey of Jesus).[266] As Mélikoff notes, these formulas vaguely imitate the assonance of a Greek phrase making fun of the Byzantine habit of consuming pork and venerating relics (hoof of the donkey of Jesus).[267] Emphasis on pork also relates to the prohibition of pork (*hınzır*) consumption in Islam and pork becoming an identifier of Christians in Muslim societies.

Some Qur'anic passages encourage the enjoyment of food as one of God's blessings, justifying culinary pleasures in Islam, as can be seen in the preambles of cook books.[268] Pigs and monkeys are the only animals whose consumption is forbidden by the Qur'an. The pig is considered a filthy animal and a symbol of abomination. Islamic law also forbids consuming animal blood, pork (*lahmü'l hınzır*) and animal sacrificed to idols, or improperly slaughtered animals (*mayta*).[269] An eschatological hadith holds that when Christ descends at the end of time, he will crush the cross and kill the pigs.[270]

The recurrent theme of pork eaters, i.e., Christians, becoming what they eat can be observed as early as eighth-century Umayyad literature, the idea being

263 Laiou, "The Human Resources," 53; Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture,* 28–29.

264 Caseau, *Nourritures terrestes, nourritures célestes*, 154.

265 Grünbart, "Store in a Cool and Dry Place," 47.

266 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:141, line 176b; 152, line 191b; 188–189, line 234a; 199, line 245a.

267 Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, 1:184–185.

268 Geert Jan van Gelder, *Of Dishes and Discourse: Classical Arabic Literary Representations of Food* (Surrey 2011), 23.

269 For hınzır *or khınzır,* see F. Viré, "Khınzır," *EI*[2] 5:8–9. For mayta, see J. Schacht, "Mayta," *EI*[2] 6:924–926. On Islamic law and food interdictions, see Mohammed Hocine Benkheira, "Tabou du porc et identité en Islam," in *Histoire et identités alimentaires en Europe*, ed. Martin Bruegel and Bruno Laurioux (Paris 2002), 39–40. For the Qur'anic verses on food interdictions, see Qur'an 2:168/173; 5:3/4; 6:145; 16:115/116.

270 Benkheira, "Tabou du porc et identité en Islam," 46.

that the food entering the body transforms the essence and nature of the human being.[271] Between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries, the idea of animals possessing character developed in the Muslim world. They were categorized for their villainous or pleasing characters, and the pig was remarked upon not only as a filthy animal that one had to abstain from eating, but also as a morally decadent animal embodying the opposite characteristics of the ideal moral Muslim.[272]

As observed in the *Digenes Akrites*, the Byzantines seem well aware of the characterization of Christians as pig eaters. When the father of Digenes, an Arab emir, renounces his faith and marries the daughter of a Byzantine aristocrat, his mother laments in a missive to her son:

> How could you renounce your kinsmen, your faith and your country and become a reproach to all Syria? How could you not remember your father's deeds? How many Romans he slew, how many he carried off as slaves? … You, too, most miserable man, have made a campaign. When you were about to be honoured by all Syria, you destroyed everything for the love of a pig-eater (δι' ἀγάπην χανζυρίσσης) and have become accursed in every mosque.[273]

The Byzantines themselves regarded eating pork as a manifestation of Christian living. The Byzantine historian Pachymeres notes with regard to Izzeddin Keykavus II, in exile with his retinue in Constantinople, that Patriarch Arsenios (Nov. 1254–Feb./March 1260; May/June? 1261–spring 1265),[274] relying on the testimony of the metropolitan of Pisidia, who was also in the group that accompanied Izzeddin into exile, treated Izzeddin and his family as Christians. He allowed the sultan, his children and his entourage to visit a church bath, ordered a monk to give communion to his children, and permitted them to attend the Easter religious services. After Izzeddin escaped from Byzantium to the Golden Horde, his Christian affiliation was called into question, and the patriarch Arsenios was accused of canonically inadmissible conduct with the infidels. According to Pachymeres, who reports by hearsay, the sultan, having heard of the trial against the patriarch, sent a message saying that he was ready to take a bite from a salted pork thigh to confirm his Christian faith.[275]

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271 Jan van Gelder, *Of Dishes and Discourse*, 83.

272 Benkheira, "Tabou du porc et identité en Islam," 48.

273 Jeffreys, *Digenis Akritis*, 29.

274 On Patriarch Arsenios, see Alice-Mary Talbot, " Arsenios Autoreianos," *ODB* 1: 187.

275 Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. Albert Failler, trans. Vitalien Laurent (Paris 1984–2004), book 4.6, 347. Izzeddin was also said to have asked the emperor to send him

Identification as a pig eater would be so internalized by some Christian communities in the eastern part of the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire that an Armenian priest would write a text called "The Story of the Pig." He "admitted" in the story that what made them true Christians was the fact that they ate pork.[276] The emphasis on pork consumption by the Byzantines in the *Danişmendname* is therefore a tool for "othering," in this case illustrating the morally decadent character of the enemy, the opposite of an ideal Muslim. Yet, one could escape being the "other" by ceasing one's consumption of pork, that is, not making it part of the body.

3.5.4 Sugar and Sweet

Long lists of sweet dishes, different varieties of fruits, and the sweet taste of the food served at the feasts of Ahmed Danişmend are described in detail while the Byzantine feasts strikingly lack sweets and fruits. Apart from eating weird dishes, such as rat kebab, snake with vinegar sauce, and hard shell bugs (which probably refers to a shell fish that is still called *böcek,* "bug," in modern Turkish), the Byzantines seem to have preferred bitter food.[277] Were the Byzantines not fond of sweets and fruits? Wasn't it available for them? Why did their food taste bitter?

Sugarcane, a subtropical plant, originated in the Far East. It was introduced to Sassanid Persia in the sixth century and began to be consumed in the Mediterranean region following the Muslim conquests. It was first planted in Syria, at the end of the seventh century in Egypt, and in later periods in Cyprus, Crete, and Morocco and then the southern Iberian Peninsula and Sicily.[278] It was a luxurious and expensive product in the Byzantine Empire as well as in Egypt, which was a major producer in the medieval world.[279] It was served on palace and aristocratic tables and used as an ingredient in medicine in Byzantium and Muslim medieval societies.[280]

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his *enkolpia* (reliquary cross worn around the neck as a powerful amulet), which he apparently left in Constantinople.

276 Gosharian, "Blending in and Separating Out," 49–68.

277 Snake with vinegar sauce is called *sirkeli mar*. See Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:141, line 176b.

278 Mohammed Ouerfelli, "Sucre," *Dictionnaire de la Méditerranée*, ed. Dionigi Albera, Maryline Crivello, and Mohamed Tozy (Arles 2016), 1407–1412; Mohammed Ouerfelli, *Le sucre: production, commercialisation et usages dans la Méditerranée médiévale* (Leiden 2008), 15–22.

279 Rosa Kuhne Brabant, "Le sucre et le doux dans l'alimentation d'al-Andalus," *Médiévales* 33 (Autumn 1997): 62.

280 Ouerfelli, *Le sucre*, 503–565.

The lists of goods bought for the Byzantine imperial court mentions it among the other luxury items, along with mastic, musk, ambergris, and true cinnamon.[281] In a fashion similar to other medieval societies, the Byzantines typically sweetened their food with honey, raisins, and other dried fruits, such as figs, dates, and *keration* (or *xylokeraton,* in Turkish *keçiboynuzu*), the fruit of the carob tree (from the Arabic *harnub*).[282] Yet from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries onward, sugar consumption paired with other items, including rice, increased in Byzantium.[283] The Byzantines were fond of sweets whether in the form of refined sugar, honey, or fruits. As can be gleaned from such sources as the Prodromic poems, on bishops' tables, apart from shellfish and seafood, one also found rice with honey, sweet little apples, dates, and dried figs. For dessert, bishops adored doughnuts dipped in honey sauce as well as other sweets.[284]

The long and detailed list of fruits in dietary texts stands as a sign of the range of cultivated fruits in the Byzantine diet and of the importance accorded to them. Candied fruits or marmalades, such as *kydonata* (quince conserve or marmalade) and *karydaton* (walnut conserve), were well liked.[285] Eusthatios, the metropolitan of Thessalonica (1179–c.1194) described a sweet sauce used in the meat and poultry dishes he received from the imperial kitchen, where in addition, fried fowl came stuffed with almonds and served with a sweet sauce.[286] *Barbara* and *kollyba* were Byzantine sweet dishes, consumed during rituals. *Barbara* is basically pureed wheat with boiled pulses, raisins or sultanas, and sugar, dried fruit, and cinnamon. It resembles kollyba (which is similar to the Turkish *aşure*) but is less viscous in consistency.[287]

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281 *Constantini Porphyrogeniti, De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, ed. I.I. Reiske, vol. 1 (Bonn 1829), 468.

282 Koder, "Everyday Food in the Middle Byzantine Period," 150.

283 Ilias Anagnostakis, "Byzantine Diet and Cuisine: In Between Ancient and Modern Gastronomy," in Anagnostakis, *Flavours and Delights*, 62.

284 Edouard Jeanselme and Lysimaque Oeconomos, "La satire contre les higoumènes: poème attribué à Théodore Prodrome," *Byzantion* 1 (1924): 334; René Bouchet, trans., *Satires et parodies du Moyen Âge grec* (Paris 2012), 25–38.

285 Dalby, *Flavours of Byzantium*, 74–75; Anagnostakis, "Byzantine Delicacies," 89–92.

286 Theophil Lucas Frider Tafel, *Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis opuscula* (Amsterdam 1964), 310–311, cited in Grünbart, "Spartans and Sybarites at the Golden Horn," 139.

287 For kollyba, see Anagnostakis, "Byzantine Delicacies," 101; Koder, "Everyday Food in the Middle Byzantine Period," 152; Marianna Yerasimos, "Ölümle İlgili Törensel Bir Yiyecek: Koliva," *Yemek ve Kültür* 13 (Summer 2008): 110–114. For aşure, see Işın, *Gülbeşeker*, 258–272; Özge Samancı, "Aşure," *Yemek ve Kültür* 13 (Summer 2008): 115–121. For a comparison of Turkish aşure, Armenian *anuşabur,* and Greek kollyba, see Marie-Hélène Sauner-Leroy, "Temel Ezginin Üç Örneği: Aşure, Anuşabur, Koliva," *Yemek ve Kültür* 13 (Summer 2008): 100–109.

The Byzantines also drank syrups and fruit juices made from dates or mixed with honey or honeyed wine. Seljuk rulers and the emirs of the Turkish principalities consumed a drink called *sirkencubin*,[288] which was prepared by mixing vinegar and honey, a combination known as *oxyglyky* in Byzantium.[289] In the medieval Turkish Muslim kitchen, sugar was a luxury, imported primarily from Egypt, Damascus, and Iraq. It served in imperial circles to sweeten dishes in a manner similar to honey, fruits, and *pekmez* among the Byzantine common people.[290] Like meat, sugar was a symbol of wealth and power.

Another symbolic meaning of sugar and sweets in Islamic culture, might, however, explain the conscious act of not listing sweet dishes in the Byzantine menus in the *Danişmendname*. Sugar and sweet dishes have a special value in the hadith and in Sufi literature. According to the hadith, Prophet Muhammad liked sweetmeats (helva) and honey. He especially blessed the palm tree and was of the opinion that whoever started the day with seven dates would not be harmed by poison or witchcraft that day. He drank a cup of water mixed with honey every day and broke his Ramadan fasts with a date or raisins. Ascetics during the Mamluk period interpreted helva as naturally sweet comestibles, such as dates, honey, and fruits, on the ground that this approach was truest to the way of the Prophet and the period in which he lived.[291]

Anatolian Sufi literature between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries is full of images from the kitchen, among which sugar and sweet dishes have a special place. In the poems of Yunus Emre, sugar represents Truth (*Hakikat*).[292] The writings and poems of Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi[293] are filled with food, although he always calls his disciples to fast to the state of starving and spent many weeks every year fasting.[294] His *Divan* together with *Mesnevi* enable one

288 For sirkencubin, see Haşim Şahin, "Türkiye Selçuklu ve Beylikler Dönemi Mutfağı," in Samancı and Bilgin, *Türk Mutfağı*, 52. Also see Uzunağaç, *Selçuklu Anadolu'sunda Beslenme ve Yemek Kültürü*, 128–129.

289 Koder, "Everyday Food in the Middle Byzantine Period," 152.

290 Pekmez is molasses-like syrup obtained from condensing juices of fruits, especially grapes, by boiling them with a coagulant agent. Şahin, "Türkiye Selçuklu ve Beylikler Dönemi Mutfağı," 50.

291 On the Prophet's sweet tooth in the hadith, see Amalia Levanoni, "Food and Cooking during the Mamluk Era: Social and Political Implications," *Mamluk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 217.

292 Mustafa Tatçı, *Yunus Emre Divanı, Risaletü'n-Nushiyye: Tenkitli Metin* (Ankara 1991), 117–120.

293 On Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi, see Hellmut Ritter and Alessandro Bausani, "Djalal al-Din Rumi," *EI*², http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0177 (accessed May 24, 2019); Reşat Öngören, "Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi," *TDVİA* 29: 441–448.

294 On food and fasting and its symbolism in Mevlana's writings, see Anne-Marie Schimmel, *The Triumphal Sun: A Study of the Works of Jalaleddon Rumi* (Albany 1993), 138–153; Müjgan

to create a list of dishes served in thirteenth-century Konya. Many sweetmeats are among the dishes, including *gülbeşeker*, various helva, *falude* (*paluze*), *kadayıf,* almond candy (*jowzina* or *badem şekeri*), and sweetmeat with almonds (*luzina*).[295]

Mevlana's writings are like a valley of fruit orchards, where grapes, red apples, peaches, pomegranates, quince, melons, walnuts, almonds, and figs are found in abundance.[296] The act of eating for Mevlana is a symbol of spiritual nourishment, and in his world of imagery, sugar represents a beloved, or God's grace.[297] Among sweets, helva is Mevlana's favorite dish. He compares its taste to a spiritual experience. According to Mevlana, just as the villager who tastes helva for the first time, would no longer like the taste of carrots he used to chew formerly for the sake of their sweetness, man will despise worldly pleasure once he has tasted the spiritual bliss.[298] The importance of sweetmeats in devotional practices and hospitality is manifested in the endowment document of the thirteenth-century Karatay Han and the Gök Medrese, which included the provisioning of sweetmeats made of honey to guests on Friday nights and on the Friday evenings of Ramadan.[299]

The same fondness for helva can also be identified among other Anatolian Sufis. One of them, the fifteenth-century dervish poet Kaygusuz Abdal, is also famous for his food poems, which are full of kitchen imagery and cite helva and sweets as among the preferred items.[300] Kaygusuz says that if parrots

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Cunbur, "Mevlana'nın Mesnevi'sinde ve Divan-ı Kebir'inde Yemekler," *Türk Mutfağı Sempozyumu Bildirileri, 31 Ekim–1 Kasım 1981* (Ankara 1982), 69–87; Hamid Zübeyr, "Mevlevilikte Matbah Terbiyesi," *Türk Yurdu* 27, no. 5 (March 1927): 280–286.

295 For the recipes of gülbeşeker, helva, falude (paluze/palude), kadayıf, almond candy, see Işın, *Gülbeşeker*.

296 For food, sweets, and fruits in Mevlana's writings, see Cunbur, "Mevlana'nın Mesnevi'sinde ve Divan-ı Kebir'inde Yemekler." For the importance of fruits in later periods in the Ottoman Culture, see Princilla Mary Işın, "More Than Food: Fruit in Ottoman Culture," in *Çekirge Budu: Festschrift in Honor of Robert Dankoff, Journal of Turkish Studies* 44 (December 2015), 253–268.

297 Schimmel, *The Triumphal Sun*, 139, 143–144.

298 Ibid., 144.

299 For the endowment deed of Karatay Han, see Osman Turan, "Celaleddin Karatay, Vakıfları ve Vakfiyeleri," *Belleten* 12 (1948): 17–171. For the endowment deed of Gök Medrese, see Sadi Bayram and Ahmet Hamdi Karabacak, "Sahib Ata Fahr'üd-din Ali'nin Konya İmaret ve Sivas Gök Medrese Vakfiyeleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 13 (1981): 31–70. For the importance of sweetmeats in devotional practices in medieval Anatolia, see Pancaroğlu, "Devotion, Hospitality and Architecture," 53, 58.

300 On Kaygusuz Abdal and *abdal*s, see Ahmet Karamustafa, "A Medieval Turkish Saint and the Formation of Vernacular Islam in Anatolia," in *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam*, ed. Orkhan Mir-Karimov (Leiden

deserve sugar, impure (food) is the wish of the crows.[301] While on a personal level, a feast full of sweetmeats may refer to the wealth and power of the host, on a symbolic level, the bitter, sugarless, fruitless feasts of the Byzantines without sweetmeats may well be pointing to their lack of awareness of Truth, of the beloved, of God's grace, and the ways of Prophet Muhammad.

3.5.5 Fish, Seafood, and Wine

The lists of seafood consumed by the Byzantines are the most accurate parts in the *Danişmendname* about Byzantine feasts. Crab, crayfish, lobster, caviar, prawns, all kinds of dried fish, mackerel, and fish heads are included in Byzantine feasts. Byzantines greatly appreciated these items, especially during fast days. Shellfish, considered bloodless, was the most-desired and -consumed food item during fasting days. Prodromos counts lobster, crab, pan-fried prawns, lentils with oysters and mussels, and calms and caviar on the tables of the abbots and bishops, who usually came from the aristocratic milieu.[302]

In fact, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, shellfish was considered to be the "food of angels."[303] Patriarch Athanasios (1289–1293, 1303–1309) lamented how Constantinopolitans rushed to the Bosphorus to buy fish and shellfish as soon as Lent started, and how they were not content with boiled wheat, fruits, and vegetables as good Orthodox Christians should be.[304] In the fifteenth century, the Spanish traveler, Pero Tafur (c. 1484) was surprised to see so many varieties of shellfish in the markets of Constantinople and connected this tradition to the Byzantines' religious calendar.[305] Yet the accuracy of the

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2014), 329–342. For the language of food in the poems of Kaygusuz Abdal, see Orhan Şaik Gökyay, "Kaygusuz Abdal ve Sımatiyeleri," *Türk Folkloru-Aylık Folklor Dergisi* 14 (1980): 3–6; Catherine Pinguet, "Remarques sur la poésie de Kaygusuz Abdal," *Turcica* 34 (2002): 13–38. On the symbolic motif of food in Bektaşi literature, see, Ayla Esen Algar, "Food in the Life of the Tekke," in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, ed. Raymond Lifchez (Berkeley 1992), 296–303. For sugar and sweets in the poems of Kaygusuz, see *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, ed. Zeynep Oktay (Cambridge 2013), 919–920: "Bal u yağ olsa soğandan ne hasıl. Halva gibi nesne mi var iy akıl."

301 Oktay, *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, 908–909: "Tuti isen layıkun şekker ola. Karga isen maksudun murder ola."

302 Jeanselme and Oeconomos, "La satire contre les higoumènes," 322–323; Roderick Beaton, "The Rhetoric of Poverty: The Lives and Opinions of Theodore Prodromos," *BMGS* 11 (1987): 1–28; Dalby, *Flavours of Byzantium*, 55, 67, 93.

303 Anagnostakis, "Byzantine Delicacies," 101–103.

304 *Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letter to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family and Officials*, ed. and trans. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, D.C., 1975), 90–91; Caseau, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes*, 191.

305 Dalby, *Flavours of Byzantium*, 55, 67, 93; Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures (1435–1439)*, ed. and trans. Malcolm Letts (London 2005), 141.

Danişmendname in that respect is not for the sake of listing Byzantine eating habits correctly, it is for showing another "repugnant" aspect of Byzantine food consumption, i.e., of shellfish, which is viewed negatively in the Muslim tradition.

Fish is not a taboo food in Islam. In the cookbooks and medical books translated from Arabic to Turkish in medieval Anatolia, one can find dishes prepared with fish, but compared to meat, they are not in abundance. In the seventeenth-century *Seyahatname* (Book of Travels), by the Ottoman scholar and traveler Evliya Çelebi (d. 1684?), out of 2,346 food items mentioned, only 140 (6.23 percent) concerned the shellfish, "sea pest," and fish.[306] Evliya Çelebi lists oyster, crab, octopus, lobster, and similar shellfish as ungodly, sinful, and perverted food consumed by wine consumers (*meyhor*) and other ungodly individuals.[307] Shellfish is forbidden by the Hanafi school of jurisprudence and by some Shafi'i jurists, who consider it impure and "perverted."[308] In the light of these traditions, one could argue that the full and accurate listing of these food items as being served at Byzantine feasts may well be included as evidence of their ungodliness, sinfulness, and perverseness.

The question is whether all these Islamic norms and attitudes were practiced by the Muslims of the time. Although pork eating among the Muslims cannot be traced in the sources, wine drinking by Muslim rulers and elites of medieval Anatolia is noted. Although wine consumption is forbidden by Qur'an, a tradition of organizing court feasts (*işret meclisi*), in which alcoholic drinks were served, music was played, and poems were recited, existed at the courts of Seljuk sultans, Turkish emirs as well as Ottoman sultans.[309] According to the testimony of the historian Michael the Syrian, Melik Muhammed,

306 Marianna Yerasimos, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesinde Yemek Kültürü* (Istanbul 2014), 148–149.

307 Ibid., 149–150.

308 Mehmet Şener, "Hayvan," *TDVİA* 17:95.

309 On wine (*hamr* / *khamr*), see Arent Jan Wensinck and Joseph Sadan, "Khamr," *EI*², http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0490 (accessed May 27, 2019). Although wine consumption is forbidden in Qur'an, on its being part of Islamic, especially Persian court culture and literature, and on wine drinking in Islamic literature (*hamriyye* / *khamriyya*), see Halil İnalcık, *Has-Bağçede 'Ayş u Tarab Nedîmler Şâirler Mutrîbler* (Istanbul 2010), 4–9. Also see Jamel Eddine Bencheikh, "Khamriyya," *EI*², http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0491 (accessed May 27, 2019). On the tradition of *işret meclisi* at the courts of the Seljuk sultans, Turkish emirates as well as Ottoman sultans, see İnalcık, *Has-Bağçede 'Ayş u Tarab*, 65–294. On the rules of etiquette for Ottoman işret meclisi, see ibid. 255–263. Especially on crabfish and shellfish (*istakoç*, *teke* and *midye*) consumption at işret meclisi, see ibid., 257. For the etymology of işret, see ibid., 277. On sixteenth-century advice letters to the Ottoman sultan warning the sultan about such gatherings and alcohol consumption, see ibid., 221–225.

the son of Gazi Gümüştekin, was a pious Muslim who did not drink wine and who adopted policies more friendly toward Islam and the Muslims than his father's.[310] In contrast, the fourteenth-century *Bezm u Rezm* (Feast and War), about Kadı Burhaneddin (d. 1398), the ruler of Sivas, Amasya, and Tokat in 1380s, describes feasts where Muslim rulers drink wine and where the positive qualities of wine are noted.[311]

Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391–1425) complained about the heavy wine drinking of Bayezid I in a letter to his friend Demetrios Kydones in 1391 while as an Ottoman vassal, he had to accompany Bayezid on campaign in Anatolia.[312] In his work *Dialogues with a Persian*, Manuel again recounts how he suffered from dissipation at meals and afterwards, from the throngs of mimes, the flocks of flute players, the choruses of singers, the tribes of dancers, the clang of cymbals, and the senseless laughter after the strong wine at Bayezid's feasts during the campaign.[313] Manuel paints a picture close to the Byzantine feasts in the *Danişmendname*. In the early Ottoman chronicles, Bayezid's heavy drinking was interpreted as the bad influence of his Christian Serbian wife, Despina Hatun (Olivera Lazarević (d. 1444)), the daughter of

310 Osman Turan, "Les souverains seldjoukides et leurs sujets non-musulmans," *Studia Islamica* 1 (1953): 73; Mehmet Ersan, "Türkiye Selçuklularında Devlet Erkanının Eğlence Hayatı," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 21, no. 1 (2006): 73–106; Emine Uyumaz, "Türkiye Selçuklu Devleti'nde Resmi Eğlence/Bezm Meclisleri," *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 43 (2006): 37–51. As Uyumaz states, apart from wine drinking at feasts, similar to the Byzantines, the Seljuk sultans of Rum also organized feasts prior to battles.

311 For the passages on wine, see Aziz B. Erdeşir-i Esterabadi, *Bezm u Rezm* (*Eğlence ve Savaş*), trans. Mürsel Öztürk (Ankara 1990), 98–99, 349–350, 394–395. Esterabadi was a historian and poet who fled Baghdad for Anatolia after Timur took Baghdad in 1393. *Bezm u Rezm* (*Bazm u Razm*) his only known work, was written in Persian under the orders of Kadı Burhaneddin. On işret meclisi in *Bezm u Rezm*, see İnalcık, *Has-Bağçede ʿAyş u Tarab*, 295–296. On Kadı Burhaneddin, see Yaşar Yücel, *Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed ve Devleti* (Ankara 1970); idem, *Anadolu Beylikleri Hakkında Araştırmalar: Eretna Devleti, Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed ve Devleti, Mutahharten ve Erzincan Emirliği II* (Ankara 1989). Also see Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Manuel Palaeologus on the Strife between Bayezid I and Kadı Burhan al-Din Ahmad," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43 (1980): 471–481; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "The Qadi Burhan al-Din Oghulları (1381–98): North-eastern Anatolia," in *New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (Edinburgh 1996), 126.

312 *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus. Text, Translations and Notes*, George T. Dennis (Washington, D.C., 1977), 48, letter 16.

313 *Manuel II. Palaiologos, Dialoge mit einem "Perser,"* ed. and trans. Erich Trapp (Vienna 1966), 120–121. For French translation of the work, see Manuel II Paléologue. *Entretiens avec un musulman. 7e controverse*, ed. and trans. Adel-Théodore Khoury (Paris 1966). For an English translation of the passage, see Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, 50–51.

Vılkoğlu (Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović (r. 1360–1389)), and of his Christian advisers.[314]

On the other hand, one can also observe the topos of the ideal Muslim monarch in the sources. For instance, in the work of Ibn Bibi,[315] comparison is made between the model ruler, Alaeddin Keykubad I, and Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev, who indulges in recreation and banquets with the Byzantines, where he and the Byzantine emperor Basileus drink heavily. This latter's actions cast a shadow of illegitimacy over his reign as sultan. A religious authority in the same history declares that Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev should not remain on the throne because of his paying allegiance to a kafir potentate and committing acts forbidden by Islamic law.[316] One also sees a reflection of this ideal behavior of a Muslim ruler in the *Danişmendname*, where it is argued that food, commensality, and fasting are essential to establishing boundaries between us and them.

3.6 *Who Are You?*

Feasting in the *Danişmendname* serves to point out the hierarchical place of Ahmed Danişmend in Byzantine lands and within his newly formed group. He is positioned as being comparable to Şah-ı Şattat, Nastor, and Puthil. They are the only ones powerful and rich enough to host guests at feasts. Ahmed Danişmend appears to be the Muslim equivalent of these three Byzantine dignitaries.

In the twelfth century, the Danishmendid rulers, by referring to specific geographical regions in their titles, placed themselves at a lower status in relation to the Constantinopolitan emperor. According to Shukurov, this gesture of acknowledgment served to determine their own place—as the Muslim rulers of the Rum/Rhomania in the traditional Byzantine space into which they had intruded.[317] In the *Danişmendname,* Ahmed Danişmend positions himself between Byzantium and Baghdad, the powerful centers as in the *Battalname*.[318]

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314 Öztürk, *Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi,* 94–95: 63.

315 Ibn Bibi (d. after 1285) is the author of *El-Evamirü'l-Ala'iyye fi'l-Umuri'l Ala'iyye* (*al-Awemir al-'Alâiyya fi 'l-umur al-'Alâiyya*), written in Persian, which was completed early in 1281. The work deals with the history of the Seljuks of Rum from 1192 to 1280. For Ibn Bibi and his work see Herbert W. Duda, "Ibn Bibi," *EI²*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3116 (accessed May 24, 2019). Also see Abdülkerim Özaydın, "Ibn Bibi," *TDVİA* 19: 379–382.

316 *Ibn Bibi. El-Evemirü'l-Ala'iyye fi'l-Umuri'l Ala'iyye. Selçukname,* ed. and trans. Mürsel Öztürk (Ankara 1996), 70, 115.

317 Shukurov, "Turkoman and Byzantine Self-Identity," 274–276.

318 Oikonomides, "Les Danishmendides, entre Byzance, Bagdad et le sultanat d'Iconium," 189–207.

He physically shares the territorial and political space of the Byzantines, while being emotionally and symbolically attached to the caliph in Baghdad.

The feasts also reinforce the superior position of Ahmed Danişmend within his newly formed group. He is the host, or donor, who shares his riches with the members of the group. This is in line with the existence of contemporary Byzantine iconography on Danishmendid coins, which do not appear to be a simple borrowing or mastering of an alien culture, but rather reflects the important role of the Byzantine groups within the early political formation of the Danishmendids.[319] Because the enemies and companions in the *Danişmendname* belong to the same group, it is necessary to create boundaries. These boundaries are reinforced on Ahmed Danişmend's Byzantine companions through restrictions on food exchange and commensality with their former compatriots and prohibitions on certain foods and drink, that is, pork, shellfish, and wine.

The *Danişmendname* presents a confusing, mishmash of disjointed events and historical figures with some actual historical facts interjected. Situating the arrival of Ahmed Danişmend, along with his small initial group of companions and their conquests of Byzantine cities, in the late eleventh century makes sense. The narrative comports well however with the social and military Byzantine milieu of the Komnenian and post-Komnenian aristocratic milieu, political system, and mentality. On the other hand, however, the emphasis on food and commensality seems to be the product of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Turkish Muslim space.

There is no extant historical evidence to support the cooperation of local Byzantine petty magnates with the Danishmendids, but within the scope of the limited sources at hand, one cannot argue wholly against it either. The evidence from Danishmendid coins and seals that have been catalogued only weakly supports the scenario presented in the *Danişmendname* and the prominence of local magnates within the Danishmendids' social and political systems. Collaboration between Byzantine aristocrats and the Seljuk elite is more attested, especially in the thirteenth century. Did the Danishmendids follow a conscious policy of matrimonial integration with the Byzantines and then use Muslim traditions and norms surrounding food and commensality to mark the borders of their new communities as one discerns in the *Danişmendname*?

Although it is difficult to support this argument using the available sources, the aspects of it discussed here show how the process of the conquest of the land of Rome was viewed or imagined at the end of the thirteenth century. It is

319 Shukurov, "Christian Elements in the Identity of the Anatolian Turkmens," 758–759, interprets the Byzantine iconography on these coins as mastering of the alien culture.

interesting to see how Ahmed Danişmend is presented as having become something of an insider in the Byzantine system. That raises the question of who Ahmed Danişmend of the *Danişmendname* is. Who does he represent? Does he represent the historical Ahmed Danişmend, the members of the Danishmendid dynasty, the storytellers, or the patrons of the written texts? One wonders if Izzeddin Keykavus II, patron of the first written version of the narrative, is a credible candidate or not.

This suggestion is based on the following logic: Izzeddin II Keykavus is an insider in the Byzantine social and cultural arenas due to his entourage of Rumi family members and Byzantine advisers. The text, however, ridicules Byzantine traditions and religious figures. Would this not be offensive to Izzeddin's Rumi entourage? Mélikoff cites 1265 as *terminus ante quem* for the production of *Danişmendname*, so it might have been commissioned and then read in front of an audience during a time when Izzeddin was not at the Byzantine court and when he did not have most of his Rumi relatives, friends and advisers in his entourage. A possible date would be between 1264 and 1265, when he fled to Crimea, leaving most of the Rumi members of his family and court behind in Constantinople.

The stories related in the *Danişmendname* that reflect Byzantine mentalities and ways of aristocratic life were likely not alien to Izzeddin. He was the son of a Rumi lady, Barduliya/Prodoulia, who was the daughter of a Rumi priest.[320] Izzeddin probably had a Christian wife, and two of his maternal uncles, Kir Khaya and Kir Kadid/Kattidios, had a great influence on him.[321] His uncles continued to profess Christianity like their sister, Barduliya, and participated in the politics and administration of the sultanate. Shukurov has argued that some Seljuk princes, particularly Izzeddin, were familiar with Byzantine culture and customs and the basic concepts of the Christian faith and rites, and could even speak Greek to some extent, because they were raised by their Rumi mothers in the harem until the age of ten or eleven.[322]

Apart from family members, another Rumi who influenced Izzeddin was Constable the Rumi (Kundastabil-i Rumi). As constable and *beglerbeg* (commander of the commanders), he held the highest military rank at the

320 Rustam Shukurov, "Oriental Margins of the Byzantine World: A Proposographical Perspective," in *Identities and Allegiances in Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Surrey 2011), 182–186.

321 On his Christian wife, see Shukurov, "Harem Christianity," 119–120; on his Rumi uncles, 186–190.

322 Ibid., 127.

Seljuk court and was an adviser to the sultan.[323] The desire of the Byzantine aristocracy to identify themselves with the Komnenos dynasty was evident among the Byzantine subjects who crossed into the Sultanate of Rum in the thirteenth century, among them John Komnenos Maurozomes, who settled and served the Seljuk sultans in the Seljuk lands. These individuals keenly claimed affiliation with the Komnenoi on their seals and in epitaphs and inscriptions.[324]

As gleaned from the numerous courtiers of the sultan who followed him into exile in 1261/62, Izzeddin's entourage included several Rumis, including two Basilikoi, and Makarios, who became the metropolitan of Pisidia in 1250 and served as a religious mentor for the Rumi members of Izzeddin's family.[325] Apart from this Rumi entourage, Izzeddin also had close relations

323 On Constable the Rumi, see Rustam Shukurov, "Sultan Izz al-Din Kaykawus II in Byzantium (1262–1264/1265)," in *Byzanz und die Seldschuken in Anatolien vom spaten 11. Bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Neslihan A. Effenberger and Falko Daim (Mainz 2014), 42. Shukurov identifies Constable the Rumi as one of the Basilikoi brothers, who accompanied Izzeddin II during his exile to Constantinople in 1261/2. According to Pachymeres, the brothers Basilikoi—one of them was actually named Basil—hailed from Rhodes. They were "theatre actors" at the Seljuk court before becoming close to the sultan and attaining supreme positions and enormous riches. See *Georges Pachymérès, Relations Historiques*, ed. Albert Failler (Paris 1984–2004), book. 2:24,181–183; book. 4:12, 575; book. 6:24, 615. Also see *PLP* 2452, 2458. Constable the Rumi was Michael VIII Palaiologos according to Cahen, *La Turquie pré-Ottomane*, 247, and Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 201–203. The presence of Byzantines/Byzantine aristocrats in the Seljuk service was a common phenomenon. See Anthony A.M. Bryer, "A Byzantine Family of Gabrades, c. 979–c. 1653," *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 12 (1970): 164–187; Jean Claude Cheynet, "Les Nestongoi, un exemple d'assimilation réussie," in *La société byzantine: L'apport de sceaux*, vol. 2, ed. Jean Claude Cheynet (Paris 2008), 599–607; Alexander Beihammer, "Defection across the Border of Islam and Christianity: Apostasy and Cross-Cultural Interaction in Byzantine-Seljuk Relations," *Speculum* 86 (2011): 597–651; Sophie Métivier, "Les Mauruzômai, Byzance et le sultanat de Rûm: note sur le sceau de Jean Comnène Maurozômès," *REB* 67 (2009): 197–208; eadem, "Byzantium in Question in 13th Century Seljuk Anatolia," in *Liquid and Multiple: Individuals and Identities in the Thirteenth-Century Aegean*, ed. Guillaume Saint-Guillain, and Dionysios Stathakopoulos (Paris 2012), 235–257; Scott Redford, "Maurozomes in Konya," in Ödekan, Akyürek, and Necipoğlu, *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, 48–50. On the good relations of the Byzantines, especially Komneo-Doukai, with the Seljuks, see *George Akropolites, The History*, ed. and trans. Ruth Macrides (Oxford 2007), 92–94. For the time of the "entente cordiale" between the Byzantine Empire and the Sultanate of Rum, see Balivet, *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rum turc,* 47–49. Also see Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks,* 213.

324 Métivier, "Byzantium in Question in 13th-Century Seljuk Anatolia," 237; Redford, "Maurozomes in Konya;" Beihammer, "Defection across the Border of Islam and Christianity," 597.

325 Shukurov, "Sultan Izz al-Din Kaykawus II in Byzantium," 41; *Pachymérès, Relations Historiques*, book 2.24, 185. On the metropolitan of Pisidia, Makarios, see *PLP* 16271.

with the Byzantine state of Nicaea,[326] as well as with Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259–1282), who in 1256, fearing persecution in Nicaea over his claims to the throne, took refuge at Izzeddin's court and served as the commander of the Christian contingency in the Seljuk army against the army of Baycu (d. 1259), Mongol general and military governor in northwestern Iran.[327]

Izzeddin Keykavus II, similar to Ahmed Danişmend of the *Danişmendname*, relied on a coalition of various groups in his power struggles. The coalition in Izzeddin's entourage can be glanced also from the groups who followed him into his exile, in 1261/62. In addition to his mother, his maternal uncles, the metropolitan of Pisidia, Constable the Rumi, and the Basilikoi, he was also accompanied by some members of the Muslim Seljuk elite: Ali Bahadur, the army commander; Muẓaffereddin Uğurlu, chief of the horses; Ḥüsameddin Taşti, Ḥacı Baba, and Nureddin Erzincani.[328] Judging by his name, Ḥacı Baba might have belonged to the sultanate's religious elite, possibly to Sufi circles. Some Turcoman groups also followed Izzeddin into exile.

Sarı Saltuk, a semi-legendary Sufi saint, who in the subsequent centuries would become a rather famous figure in the Ottoman tradition, is considered the spiritual leader of the Turcomans who followed Izzeddin into exile. It is believed that around 1264, these Turcomans were settled by the Byzantine authorities in southern Dobrudja, under their spiritual leader Sarı Saltuk, the main protagonist of the heroic epic *Saltukname*.[329] The warriors of these nomadic groups most probably participated in some victorious wars on the side of the Byzantine emperor, during the reconquest of Dobrudja in the name of Michael VIII Palaiologos.[330]

The influence of his Rumi uncles and Constable the Rumi on Izzeddin's private life and on his rule was highly criticized by the Seljuk historian Aksarayi (d. 1332/3), who chronicled in Persian the events of the reign of Seljuk and

326 Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 187–206.

327 Michael VIII Palaiologos was arrested in 1253 on suspicion of disloyalty by the Byzantine emperor in Nicaea, John III Vatatzes (r. 1221–1254), but as he was forced to give a solemn oath of allegiance to the throne, the emperor appointed him grand constable, the commander of the Latin mercenary troops of the empire. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 192–194. On Baycu, see Peter Jackson, "Bayju," *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bayju-baiju-or-baicu-mongol-general-and-military-governor-in-northwestern-iran-fl (accessed February 11, 2018).

328 For Keykavus's people in Byzantium, see Shukurov, "Sultan 'Izz al-Din Kaykawus II in Byzantium," 41–42, and for Ali Bahadur, Muzaffereddin Uğurlu, Hacı Baba, and Nureddin Erzincani, see ibid., 41, notes 29–30.

329 For Sarı Saltuk, see Chapter 3.

330 Shukurov, "Sultan 'Izz al-Din Kaykawus II in Byzantium," 42–44.

Mongol rulers in Rum in 1323.[331] Aksarayi accuses the uncles of sowing discord between their nephew Izzeddin and Rükneddin Kılıç Arslan, thus instigating the civil war in the sultanate.[332] According to Aksarayi, Constable the Rumi disrespected the Muslim emirs and statesmen, even making fun of them, and he guided Izzeddin into games and debauchery:[333]

> The Rumi Constable seized control over the aristocracy of the Sultanate as well as over the army. … He (being) full of infidel's fanaticism, took up the way of discord and quarrelling with the Muslim emirs and grandees of the state. And he persuaded the sultan to (take up) amusement and pleasure and prevented him from interesting himself in the affairs of religion. Because of the great pervasiveness of his speech and the (anxiety) to advance his own affairs, he urged (the sultan to leave) Konya, the place of the throne and the capital of the realm, for Antalya, so that when (the sultan) had gone there, he should be deprived of the *ulama*'s discourse and the shaykhs' advice.[334]

As one understands from his letters, Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi expressed his disapproval of Izzeddin's behavior and the influence of his entourage on him by refusing to see Izzeddin when Izzeddin came to pay his respects at his lodge. The relationship between Mevlana and Izzeddin seems to have improved after 1257, but when Izzeddin invited Mevlana to Antalya, he declined the invitation, saying that there were lots of Rumis there, most of whom would not understand his teachings.[335]

While the stories in the *Danişmendname* related to the Byzantines/Rumis constitute the backbone of the narrative, these stories advocate rebellious actions against the Byzantine order and hence could well be considered offensive to the Byzantine emperor. It is known from the *Danişmendname* that these stories were recited in front of Izzeddin and his entourage. Wouldn't the Rumi

331 Gary Leiser, "Al-Aqsarayi, Karim al-Din," *EI³*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_26349 (accessed May 24, 2019); İsmail Aka, "Aksarayi, Kerimüddin," *TDVİA* 2: 293. Aksarayi is the author of a chronicle written in Persian, *Musamarat al-akhbar wa-musayarat al-akhyar.* For the Turkish translation of the work, see *Selçuki Devletleri Tarihi: Aksaraylı Kerimeddin Mahmud'un Müsameret al-ahyar adlı Farça eserinin tercümesi*, ed. and trans. M. Nuri Gençosman and F.N. Uzluk (Ankara 1943).

332 Gençosman and Uzluk, *Selçuki Devletleri Tarihi*, 136.

333 Ibid., 145–146.

334 English translation from, Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks,* 201–202.

335 Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana Celaleddin Mektuplar*, 241; Djalal-ud-Din Rumi, *Le livre du dedans: Fihi-ma-fihi*, trans. Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch (Paris 1975), 134.

entourage of Izzeddin have been offended by the mockery of their veneration of icons, of the Byzantine monks, and of their eating habits?

It is suggested here that the production of the *Danişmendname* dates to the period between 1264 and 1265, when Michael VIII no longer needed to restore Izzeddin Keykavus II, in exile at Michael VIII's court, as a loyal Seljuk ruler to serve as a shield between the Byzantines and the Ilkhanid Mongols, because he had already concluded a treaty with the latter.[336] In fact, Izzeddin, realizing this, stirred up a revolt in 1264. He was imprisoned in the Ainos fortress before being liberated by the armies of the Mongols of the Golden Horde (1264/65). He then fled to the city of Solkhat, in the Crimea, which was granted to him by Berke Han (r. 1257–1267), the khan of the Mongols of the Golden Horde, who was in conflict with the Ilkhanid Mongols, the overlords of the Seljuk sultans in Asia Minor[337]

One of Izzeddin's Rumi uncles, Kyr Kattidios, had informed Michael about his nephew's conspiracy against him. The other uncle, Kir Khaya, accompanied Izzeddin to the Crimea, as did two of Izzeddin's sons, one of whom, Mesud II, would become the Seljuk sultan in 1282 and is the antagonist of one of the martyrdom narratives analyzed here, in Chapter 2. Some of Izzeddin's emirs, including Ali Bahadur, were captured and charged with treason. Some took refuge in Hagia Sophia Church, some converted to Christianity, and some were set free.

The sultan's mother, wife, sister, daughter, and two of Izzedin's sons remained in Byzantium. One of these sons, Konstantinos Melik, later held high positions in the Byzantine hierarchy, founding the aristocratic Melikes family.[338] Izzeddin left most of his Rumi family members and entourage in Byzantium.

336 Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 204.

337 Ibid., 205–206.

338 The subsequent history of the sultan's family in Byzantium has been described in a number of studies. See Shukurov, "Sultan 'Izz al-Din Kaykawus II in Byzantium," 41n27; on Melik/Melikes/Melek family, see Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks*, 187–190. Golden Horde (Turkish: Altın Ordu), known also as Kıpçak (Kipchak) Khanate or the Ulus of Jochi. It was the westernmost part of the Great Mongol Empire, which flourished from the mid-thirteenth century and disintegrated into several smaller khanates in the mid-fifteenth century. One of the most important among these smaller khanates was that of Crimea. Golden Horde carried extensive trade with its allies, the Genoese and Mamluks of Egypt. Especially on slave trade, see Chapter 2. Also see Chapter 3 for Sarı Saltuk and his disciples' conquests and activities in Crimea and their role in the Islamization of these territories. On the Mongols of the Golden Horde, see István Vásáry, "Golden Horde," *EI*^{3}, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_27498 (accessed May 30, 2019). On Berke Khan, see idem, "Berke b. Jochi Khan," *EI*^{3}, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_24589 (accessed May 30, 2019).

Although he lost the support of the Byzantine emperor, he did not relinquish his claim to the Seljuk throne. He would send his uncle Kir Khaya from Crimea to the Seljuk lands to organize a coup against Rükneddin.[339] Failing in the mission, Kir Khaya would be killed. During his sojourn in Crimea, Izzeddin needed the support of various groups in the Seljuk realm to realize his ambition of regaining power. Considering the critics among the Seljuk elite who opposed Izzeddin's Rumi entourage and the Byzantine rumors about his "Christian" identity as reported by Pachymeres, Izzeddin's commissioning of the stories of a Danishmendid ruler with Rumis in his group but who is also an ideal Muslim ruler, as indicated by his eating and drinking habits, could have been to emphasize his dedication to his Muslim faith and legitimize the presence of the Rumis around him.

339 Shukurov, "The Oriental Margins of the Byzantine World," 188–190.

CHAPTER 2

Martyrs

1 Introduction

The Turkish-Muslim warrior epics recount the heroic military deeds of a person or a group. They are individuals and groups died while fighting for their faith, as in the case of Ahmed Danişmend or from a stone thrown by a woman in the case of Seyyid Battal. Because they died for their cause, they are named as *şehid* or *shahid*, that is a martyr, in the epics.[1] Martyrdom in Islam has been closely associated with death in battle.[2]

What about the Byzantines fighting with the Turkish Muslim groups and dying for their faith? Were they considered martyrs? The Christian martyr is not necessarily a warrior. In fact, the Byzantine church typically refused to attribute martyr status to fallen soldiers. Although the soldier typology of the warrior saint was widespread among the echelons of Byzantine saints, they were never portrayed visually or through words in combat. Despite being soldiers or officers by profession, they were martyred because they had openly declared their Christian faith, rejected pagan gods, refused to convert to Islam

1 The şehid or shahid (plural *shahada*), similar to the Greek martyr means both a witness and a martyr, that is, a person who suffers or dies deliberately for the sake of affirming the truth of a belief system.

2 In Islam, other forms of death or suffering, such as enduring plagues, suffering persecution for theological issues and one's faith—such as during the very earliest period of persecution of the Muslims by the polytheists of Mecca—and a wide range of other circumstances have also been considered to result in martyrdom. The Shiites, remembering the violent and tragic deaths of many of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad during the first three centuries of Islam, are largely responsible for the martyrdom literature and narratives in Islam. After the classical period, most martyrdom material focuses upon the role of Sufis, who were occasionally martyred for their beliefs (thus achieving their goal of mystical union with God, their beloved). Sufis often referred to themselves as "martyrs of love," as they were willing to be martyred for the sake of their beloved (God), but there was a whole category of love martyrs of a literary nature, based upon the idea that "whoever loves truly, keeps chaste, and dies for it, is a martyr." The most famous literary martyrdoms of this type were that of Mecnun and his beloved Leyla. For a general survey on martyrdom in Islam, see David Cook, *Martyrdom in Islam* (Cambridge 2007). For a comprehensive introduction to the subject, see Etan Kohlberg, "Shahid," *EI*^{2} 9:203–207. Also see David Cook, "Martyrdom (Shahada)," *Oxford Bibliographies,* http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195390155/obo-9780195390155-0124.xml (accessed August 30, 2018).

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or to apostatize.[3] Propositions to consider soldiers who fell defending the empire as martyrs had been made by some Byzantine emperors, including Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963–969) in the tenth century, when Byzantine society was highly militarized and mobilized to retake large territories from the Muslims. The contemporaries of Nikephoros and later commentators, however, rejected the idea.[4]

In Christian teaching, a saint is a person venerated as a heroic example of the Christian life. In Christianity's early stages, the martyr was such a person. Broadly speaking, a martyr is a witness to the Christian faith, but more specifically it designates a saint who heroically confesses his or her faith before his persecutors and sacrifices his life for the faith. The martyr is considered to have replicated the Passion of Christ through his suffering and death and escape from the human condition. In this suffering, the body is transfigured. The martyr sees visions and produces wonders, or miracles. The Christian community in revering him—in standing firm with the martyr, looking upon his torment, collecting his body after death, and celebrating his memory by reading his story of martyrdom in church and visiting his tomb—reinforces the cohesiveness of the church and keeps it vital. To the numerous martyrs of the first centuries of Christendom in the East and the West, the Byzantines added new ones to the church calendar during the Arab invasions, the iconoclastic periods, and the wars with the Bulgarians, and after the eleventh century, under Muslim, Latin, and pagan rule.[5]

In the Christian literature, the martyrdom stories—called *martyria* (sing. *martyrion*) in Greek and *passio* in Latin—, narrate the secular authorities' questioning of the martyrs, the torturing of them, and finally their execution. In the first centuries of Christendom, martyria were written to venerate the martyrs and to create a template for ideal Christian behavior. These stories were conveyed in the format of an official court record or a letter from the Christian community reporting the saint's execution. Later martyria took on

3 Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militares* (New York 1975); Christopher Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot 2003).

4 Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society*, 28.

5 Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs* (Brussels 1933); François Halkin, *Martyrs grecs, IIe–VIIIe siècle* (London 1974); Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago 1981). For a concise review of the Byzantine martyrs and their passions, see Bernard Flusin, "Martyrs," in *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, ed. Glen Warren Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar (Cambridge 2000), 567–568.

the form of a drama with a liturgical purpose.[6] They were a popular genre among Christian literature.

The period between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, the last three centuries of the Byzantine Empire, witnessed a recrudescence of hagiographical works. At least sixty hagiographers wrote more than one hundred fifty saints lives, with at least thirty-six consecrating thirty-two contemporary saints.[7] Among those thirty-two, eight of them date to between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries and were martyred under Muslim, Latin, or Lithuanian domination.[8] In all of the stories of the late Byzantine martyria, the plots take

6 Martyrion, a type of hagiography, is a modern term for this genre of Byzantine literature. The other major types of hagiography are the vita, a saint's biography; *apophthegmata patrum*, a collection of sayings by hermits; and *miracula*, descriptions of posthumous miracles. There are also stories about saints' relics and their transfer; *synaxaria* (sing. *synaxarion*), collections of individual saint's lives attached to church calendars for fixed feast days worshipping the saints or in the form of a hagiographical collection of brief historical notices; *menologion*, a collection of vitae arranged according to the date of each saint's celebration in the church calendar; and liturgical typika. See Alexander Kazhdan and Alice Mary Talbot, "Hagiography," *ODB* 2:897–899. Also see Alexander Kazhdan, "Martyrion," *ODB* 2:1308–1309.

7 Alice-Mary Talbot, "Old Wine in New Bottles: The Rewriting of Saints' Lives in the Palaiologan Period," in *The Twilight of Byzantium: Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire*, ed. Slobodan Ćurčić and Doula Mouriki (Princeton 1991), 15–26; eadem, "Hagiography in Late Byzantium (1204–1453)," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. 1, *Periods and Places*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (Farnham 2011), 173–195.

8 For the martyria on these martyrs, see the introduction of the book in this volume. Three other martyrdom cases were considered but ultimately omitted from treatment in this study: the martyrion on Arsenios, the metropolitan of Berroia, on the anti-unionist monks of Mount Athos (*BHG* 2333), and on John the Younger (m. 1341–1343 or 1344–1345) (*BHG* 2194), a Greek merchant from Trebizond martyred in Crimea by the Mongols of the Golden Horde in the 1340s. On John the Younger, also see introduction of the volume, note 14. They are not included because the martyrion on Arsenios, edited by Chionides, does not provide information on the martyr or on the context of his martyrdom, and the martyria of the other two were produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, outside the temporal scope of the volume. For the martyrion on Arsenios, metropolitan of Berroia, see Georgios x. Chionides, *Ἀνέκδοτος ἀκολουθία τοῦ νεομάρτυρος Ἀρσενίου Μητροπολίτου Βεροίας* (Thessalonica 1971), 23–29. On Arsenios, the metropolitan of Berroia, see *PLP* 1399. On the unionist martyrs of Mount Athos, see Johannes Koder, "Patres Athonenses a latinophilis occisi sub Michaele VIII," *JÖB* 18 (1969): 79–88; Vitalien Laurent and Jean Darrouzès, *Dossier grec de l'union de Lyon (1273–1277)* (Paris 1976); Antonio Rigo, "La Διήγησις sui monaci Athoniti martirizati dai latinofroni (*BHG* 2333) e le tradizioni athonite succesive: alcune osservazioni," *Studi Venezani* 15 (1988): 71–106; Renaud Rochette, "Les martyrs de l'Union sur le mont Athos," in Delouis, Métivier, and Pagès, *Le Saint, le moine et le paysan*, 617–630. On the story and martyrdom of John the Younger, the protector saint of the Moldavian Church, see Petre S. Nasturel, "Une prétendue œuvre de Grégoire Tsamblak: le martyre de Saint Jean de Nouveau," *Actes du Premier Congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes, Sofia, 1966*, vol. 7

place in locations outside the borders of the Byzantine Empire, yet the heroes are considered to be representatives of the "Byzantines," confronting "foreigners" and "outsiders." The martyria were written between the 1230s and the 1430s, which was a period of disruption and of rapidly changing conditions. It was a time when an important redefinition of the self occurred among Byzantine elites, especially in the aftermath of the loss of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204 during the Fourth Crusade.

The martyria for the martyrs of the late Byzantine church, written mostly by the Constantinopolitan civil and ecclesiastical elite, provide a good case study for identifying variations in late Byzantine identity. Among the driving forces were the image of Constantinople's centrality and hegemonic position as well as the ideological role of the Byzantine emperor and of the Byzantine patriarch in the world as they perceived it; an exclusive Byzantine identity among the Constantinopolitan elite; emphasis on regional identities due to the disintegration of the Byzantine Empire; and Orthodox Christianity as a common denominator of self-definition. Orthodox Christianity is linked to personal elements of identity, patris (homeland) and genos (ethnicity, family, and ancestors).[9]

2 Part 1: The Story of the Stories: Late Byzantine Martyrs and *Martyria*

2.1 *Nicene Empire* (*1204–1261*)

2.1.1 Thirteen Monks of Cyprus (m. 1231) (*BHG* 1198)

In the 1220s, forty years before the commissioning of the *Danişmendname* by the Seljuk Sultan Izzeddin Keykavus II, the Orthodox monks John and Konon left Kalon Oros (Alanya), on the southern Anatolian coast, for Cyprus, at the time ruled by the Lusignans.[10] Although the martyrion does not specify when

(Sofia 1971), 122–136; Matei Cazacu, "Saint Jean le Nouveau, son martyre, ses reliques et leur translation à Suceava (1415)," in *L'empereur hagiographe: culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine*, ed. Petre Guran (Bucharest 2001), 137–158. Anthony A.M. Bryer and David Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and the Topography of Pontos*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1985), 349. The eighteenth-century Greek manuscript of the saint has not been edited.

9 Bryer, "The Late Byzantine Identity," 49–50; Angold, "Autobiography and Identity," 36–59.

10 The martyrdom of thirteen Orthodox monks in Leukosia-Cyprus under Latin rule has been recorded in five manuscripts. Of relevance here is their martyrion in *BHG* 1198, see Thirteen Martyrs of Cyprus (*BHG* 1198). For prosopographical information and documents related to the martyrdom of the thirteen monks of Cyprus, see Tassos Papacostas, "The

and why they departed, the monks might have left the Kalon Oros area after the arrival of the Seljuks of Rum in 1221 when Seljuk ruler Alaeddin Keykubad I, the grandfather of Izzeddin II, captured medieval Byzantine Kalon Oros from Cilician Armenian barons. Upon their arrival to Cyprus, they settled at a monastery, where they adopted the monastic rule of *hesychia*.[11] Then they walked around the island in search of an ideal monastic retreat, which they found and settled. John and Konon became widely known among other monks for their good deeds. They were joined by several novices from the island and from Kalon Oros. Their fame spread to the nearby village and then to the Latins.

A Dominican friar named Andreas, a *keryx* (preacher) curious to learn what the monks thought about the Latin tradition of initiation into Mysteries, traveled to meet them.[12] The monks explained their views, stating that Orthodox Christians paid service with leavened bread to be initiated into the Mysteries and that they were against the Latin view on *azymes* (matzah).[13] Andreas

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Crusader States and Cyprus in a Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Prosopography," *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (London 2011), 225–227. On the monks from Kalon Oros arriving in Cyprus, see Hansgerd Hellenkemper and Friedrich Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, *TIB* 8 (Vienna 2004), 2:588.

11 Hesychia (ἡσυχία) literarily means tranquility. See Gerhard Podskalsky, "Hesychia," *ODB* 2:924. For more information on hesychia and hesychasm, see below, part on the hesychast patriarchs.

12 Thirteen Martyrs of Cyprus (*BHG* 1198), 25, line 20; 30, lines 2–3. According to Michael Angold, Andrew was a Dominican friar. See Michael Angold, "Greeks and Latins after 1204: The Perspective of Exile," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton, and David Jacoby (London 1989), 73; Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge 2000), 518–522; Chris Schabel, "Religion," in *Cyprus Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, ed. Angel Nicolaou Konnari and Chris Schabel (Leiden 2005), 195–197. Dominicans and Franciscans had been operating in the East by the early 1220s. They were learning Greek and acquainting themselves with Byzantine theology and then through preaching, debate, and the use of reason, they tried to persuade the "Greeks" to subscribe to the Latin teachings.

13 See John Meyendorff, "Azymes," *ODB* 1:241. ἄζυμα, "without yeast, leaven," is unleavened bread used by the Armenian and Latin churches in the Eucharistic sacrifice based on the tradition that such bread was used at the Last Supper, at which Jesus instituted the Eucharist. The Byzantines used leavened bread. Controversy on the issue occurred first between Byzantines and Monophysite Armenians in 591. It emerged between Byzantines and Latins only in the eleventh century. In 1054 responding to Byzantine criticism of the Latin practice, Cardinal Humbert (d. 1061) excommunicated patriarch of Constantinople Michael I Keroularios (1043–1058) and his followers as "prozymite heretics." Although the closing of the "azymite" churches in Constantinople triggered the crisis, *filioque* and the role of the pope also played important roles. On the use of azyme and how it created a conflict between the Byzantines and the Latins, see Marie-Hélène Blanchet, "'Schismatiques' et 'hérétiques': les qualifications appliquées aux Latins à Byzance," *Actes du colloque*

invited them to Leukosia to present themselves to the Latin archbishop. When before the high priest, the monks continued to insist on the correctness of their views on Latin azymes, so they were thrown in jail. The archbishop appointed Andreas as the monks' guardian after their third interrogation. They remained in prison for three years. One of the monks fell ill and died in prison on April 5, 1231. Andreas burned his saintly remains.

The remaining monks were again asked what they thought on the issue of azymes. Andreas reported it to the king and showed him the monks' written statement. The king and his council refused to make a stance as they were only concerned with issues of governance, not religion. On the other hand, Andreas was unable to apply a penalty as he was a friar. Therefore an arrangement was agreed to by which Andreas would determine the penalty, and officers of the king would apply it. Andreas declared that the monks should be bound by their feet and dragged through the agora to the river across the stones and then they should be burned at the stake. Thus the thirteen monks were martyred on March 19, 1231.

The story of the monks and their treatment need to be treated in the historical context of early Lusignan rule in Cyprus, during which most of the land was distributed as feudal grants, and the Catholic hierarchy appropriated the larger sees.[14] The Orthodox clergy were relegated to villages and to remote areas. The Latin dioceses were established to help the Latin Church in Cyprus take root and convert "schismatic Greeks" to Catholicism.[15] Tensions between the Orthodox and Latin churches grew after Pope Honorius III (1216–1227) issued a convention that included an article requiring that the election of abbots and bishops be confirmed by the local Latin ordinary, and the abbots should be obedient to their Latin bishops and not move without his consent.[16]

De l'Église aux Églises: réflexions sur le schisme aux Temps modernes, 4–5 juillet 2013, L'École française de Rome, ed. Aurélien Girard and Benoît Schmitz, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines*, 126, no. 2 (2014), http://mefrim.revues.org/1870 (accessed January 2018).

14 The Lusignans were a noble family from the county of Poitou. In 1192, Richard I Lionheart made Guy Lusignan regent of Cyprus. Guy was succeeded in 1197 by his brother Aimery, whose descendants ruled Cyprus until 1489. In the thirteenth century, several among them were also kings of Jerusalem and retained that title after 1291. See Charles M. Brand, "Lusignans," *ODB* 2:1257; also see Jean Richard, ed., *Chypre sous les Lusignans: documents chypriotes des archives du Vatican* (*XIVe et XVe siècles*) (Paris 1962).

15 Catia Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge 2004), 234.

16 Joseph Gill, "The Tribulations of the Greek Church in Cyprus, 1196–c. 1280," *BF* 5 (1977): 75; Nicholas Coureas, "The Latin and Greek Churches in Former Byzantine Lands under Latin Rule," in *Companion to Latin Greece*, ed. Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis and Peter Lock (Leiden 2014), 145–184. For the thirteen monks of Cyprus, see ibid., 170.

The marytrion (BHG 1198) of the thirteen monks does not mention any relationship between the monks or the Orthodox Church of Cyprus with the Byzantine emperor or patriarch, but it is known that Neophytos, the newly elected archbishop of Cyprus (1222–1254), was banished from the island in 1222 when he refused to ask the local Latin ordinary to confirm his election. During his exile, Neophytos traveled to Nicaea to have his election confirmed by the Byzantine emperor, John III Vatatzes (r. 1221–1254). With this move, the autocephalous Church of Cyprus became the first Orthodox community to recognize the claim of the emperors and the patriarchs in Nicaea as the successors of the Byzantine state and church in Constantinople after the Latin capture of the Byzantine capital in 1204.[17]

This also allowed the patriarch of Constantinople at Nicaea, Germanos II (1222–1240), to present himself as the protector of the Cypriots against the Latins.[18] Neophytos, after obtaining the confirmation of his election as archbishop of Cyprus from the Byzantine emperor in Nicaea, returned to the island and tried to comply with Latin regulations. Germanos, on the other hand, addressed two encyclicals to the Cypriots, one in 1223 and the other in 1229, advising the Orthodox Church of Cyprus on its relations with the Latin Church.[19] This intervention by Germanos did not please Neophytos, who saw it as an assault on the traditional rights of the Cypriot church.

Upon the martyrdom of the thirteen monks in 1231, Germanos II sent letters and advice to the Orthodox Christians on the island and even accused Neophytos of being responsible for the monks' death.[20] Neophytos finally appealed to emperor John III Vatatzes. He claimed that his submission to the Latins was aimed at keeping the church and the numerous inhabitants of Cyprus united.[21]

17 Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312* (Aldershot 1997), 252.

18 Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile,* 17–18.

19 Gill, "The Tribulations of the Greek Church in Cyprus," 79; Vitalien Laurent, *RegPatr* 4, no. 1250. On letters exchanged between Cyprus and Nicaea during this period, also see Alexander Beihammer, *Griechische Briefe und Urkunden aus dem Zypern der Kreuzfahrerzeit: Die Formularsammlung eines königlichen Sekretärs im Vaticanus Palatimus graecus 367* (Nicosia 2007); idem, "Byzantine Chancery Traditions in Frankish Cyprus: The Case of the Vatican MS Palatinus Graecus 367," in *Identités croisées en un milieu méditerranéen: le cas de Chypre* (*Antiquité–Moyen Âge*), ed. Sabine Fourrier and Gilles Grivaud (Mount-Saint-Aignan 2006), 301–315. Among the letters surviving in Palatinus graecus 367 are those between Cyprus and Konya from 1214 to 1218 dealing primarily with commercial relations.

20 Laurent, *RegPatr* 4, no. 1252.

21 Gill, "The Tribulations of the Greek Church in Cyprus," 79.

In that same year, 1231, the patriarchal synod in Nicaea excused Neophytos's submission to the Latins on the ground that he had to do so in an effort to protect the Orthodox Church and Orthodox Christians.[22] In 1232, when Germanos II wrote a letter to Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241) suggesting conversations to restore harmony between the churches, he would mention the martyrdom of the thirteen monks as proof of the bad treatment that Orthodox Christians were suffering under the Latins.[23]

Although the martyrion on the thirteen martyrs does not refer to Neophytos, Germanos II, John III Vatatzes, or any other connections to Nicaea, the evidence from patriarchal registers and letters show that Germanos was interested in their martyrdom to emphasize his ecumenical claims as protector of the Orthodox Christians. This claim relied on the result of a council at Nicaea in 1208 at which the metropolitans concluded that an ecumenical patriarch could be elected and installed there. Germanos was a strong proponent of the Nicene claim to be the sole legitimate Byzantine successor state and emphasized his own authority as ecumenical patriarch. He defended the position that the patriarchate was a unique institution not because it was attached through proximity to the imperial center of the oikoumene, but because it was the only ecclesiastical institution capable of asserting imperial power.[24] Germanos's concern with congregations outside the Nicene imperial realm was not limited to Cyprus, but extended to those of Seljuk Anatolia and to affairs in Rus.[25]

22 Laurent, *RegPatr* 4, no. 1253.

23 Ibid., no. 1256; Thirteen Martyrs of Cyprus (*BHG* 1198), 39–46. For the synodal sessions between the Orthodox and Latin churches in 1234 at which conditions for the union of the churches were discussed, see Laurent, *RegPatr* 4, nos. 1267–1277.

24 Petre Guran, "From Empire to Church and Back: In the Aftermath of 1204," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 44, nos. 1–4 (2006): 62–64. On the importance of the patriarch of Constantinople in Nicaea in fostering Nicaea as the center of Orthodoxy in lieu of Constantinople, see Hélène Ahrweiler, "L'expérience Nicéene," *DOP* 29 (1975): 38–39.

25 On Germanos II's concern for Orthodox congregations in Seljuk Anatolia, see Dimitri Korobeinikov, "Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, I: The Two Patriarchates: Constantinople and Antioch," *Al-Masaq* 15 (2003): 197–214; idem, "Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, II: The Time of Troubles," *Al-Masaq* 17 (2005): 1–30. On Germanos's concern for the affairs in Rus, see Laurent, *RegPatr* 4, nos. 1247, 1257; Angold, *Church and Society*, 520–521, 533–535, 553; Jonathan Shepard, "Imperial Constantinople: Relics, Palaiologan Emperors and the Resilience of the Exemplary Center," in *Byzantines, Latins and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150*, ed. Jonathan Harris, Catherine Holmes, and Eugenia Russell (Oxford 2012), 69.

2.2 *Reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328)*

2.2.1 Niketas the Younger (m. December 1282) (*BHG* 2302, 2303)

Fifty-one years after the martyrdom of the thirteen monks of Cyprus and twenty years after the exile of Izzeddin Keykavus II to Constantinople and then to Crimea, in December 1282, the same month and year during which the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II ascended to the Byzantine throne in Constantinople, Niketas, a twenty-year-old Orthodox reader (*anagnostes*) at a church in Ankara (Ankyra), set out with two of his friends and his mother for Nyssa, in Cappadocia, to do some business and to see his sister, who had married a man from there.

It was Ramadan, but as they were subject to Christian customs, Niketas and his friends ate and drank in public. People who saw them doing so reported it to the governor (*hegemon*) of the city. Niketas and his friends were brought before the governor for a hearing. When the governor asked why they had not respected the customs and laws of the city, Niketas answered that they were spiritually bound to Christian laws, cursed Muhammad and his laws, and added that Muslim fasting made no sense, because one was allowed to eat everything one wanted at night.

With these words, the judge sentenced Niketas and his two friends to burn at the stake. As they stood before the fire, they were given a choice: convert to Islam and be saved or perish in the flames. Niketas' friends accepted the proposal and converted, but Niketas, having refused, was martyred.[26] A bishop from Koloneia, who was there with two other priests, performed a ceremony and buried Niketas' relics beside those of Gregory of Nyssa.[27]

According to the *Passion* written by Theodore Mouzalon (d. 1294), *megas logothete* (prime minister) for Andronikos II,[28] Niketas's martyrdom took place in the "month of December, when the pious autokrator, Andronikos, was reigning over the Romans with philanthropy and as a friend of God and when

26 On the analysis of the martyrdom of Niketas the Younger, see Bayrı, "The Martyrdom of Niketas the Younger," 28–33; eadem, "Deux logothètes et un empereur," 268–274. Nyssa in Cappadocia is near modern Harmandalı, twenty-eight kilometers from modern Kırşehir (Aquae Saravenae) and it is on the Roman/Byzantine road connecting Ankara-Kayseri. See Friedrich Hild, *Das Byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien*, vol. 2 (Vienna 1977), 77–78; Hild, Marcell, *Kappadokien*, 246–248.

27 The bishop of Koloneia was suffragan to the metropolitan of Mokissos (Ioustinianoupolis, today Viranşehir). See Albrecht Berger, "Viranşehir (Mokisos), eine byzantinische Stadt in Kappadokien," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 48 (1998): 349–428.

28 For Theodore Mouzalon, see *PLP,* no. 19439. Under the Palaiologan dynasty, the megas logothetes was a veritable "prime minister." On megas logothetes, see Rodolphe Guilland, "Les logothètes: études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin," *REB* 29 (1971): 100–110.

Masud was holding the Persian power and honoring their impious errors."[29] Mouzalon begs of the martyr, "who now lives by God, to guard the fortifications of the church and the reign of Andronikos II, cut in pieces the impious nations and stop the Persian blows by fortifying the Christian frontiers."[30] Masud in question is the Seljuk Sultan Mesud II (Gıyaseddin Mesud II, r. 1282–1296, 1302–1308),[31] the son of Izzeddin Keykavus II.

As noted, the martyrdom of Niketas took place in December 1282. Andronikos II had ascended the Byzantine throne that month and put an end to the unification of the Eastern and Western branches of Christianity implemented during the reign of his father, Michael VIII Palaiologos.[32] It was a chaotic period for the Byzantine church, because although the unionist patriarch of Constantinople John XI Bekkos (1275–1282) was dismissed in January 1283 by the Orthodox synod for having taught doctrines favorable to the Latin interpretation of the procession of the Holy Spirit and the Orthodox synod condemned his writings, he continued to exercise a certain authority within the church and insisted on his own interpretations of the Holy Scripture, which were favorable to the union of the churches.[33] The patriarchal registers from the tenure of Patriarch of Constantinople Gregory II of Cyprus (1283–1289) reveal how Bekkos's attitude and influence created trouble and confusion in the

29 Niketas by Theodore Mouzalon (*BHG* 2302), 150, lines 822–828: "Καὶ τὴν μακαρίαν ψυχὴν εἰς τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χεῖρας κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν παρατίθεται, μῆνα ἄγοντος τοῦ ἔτους Δεκέβριον, τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαϊκῶν σκήπτρων Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς αὐτοκράτορος σφόδρα φιλοθέως καὶ φιλανθρώπως τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διέποντος, Μασοὺτ δὲ τὴν Περσικὴν ἔχοντος δυναστείαν καὶ τὴν ἄθεον αὐτῶν πλάνην τιμῶντος."

30 Ibid., 153–154, lines 962–979, "Ἀλλ' ἐποπτεύοις καὶ ἡμᾶς ἄνωθεν, ἀθλητά, τῇ παρρησίᾳ καὶ πρεσβείᾳ τῇ εἰς θεόν, τήν τε ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ, τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον ὀρθοτομοῦσαν, ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στηρίζων θεμελίου τῆς πίστεως καὶ αὔξων ταῖς τῆς ὁμονοίας καὶ ὁμοψυχίας ἀγαθαῖς ἐπιδόσεσι, τήν τε φιλόχριστον βασιλείαν κρατύνων καὶ πολεμίους ὑποτάσσων αὐτῇ, ἔθνη τε ἀτίθασα καταρράσσων τὰ μὴ προσκυνοῦντα τὸν ποιήσαντα κύριον. Καὶ στήσαις τὴν Περσικὴν καταιγίδα, καὶ κεφαλὰς ἀνόμων δυναστῶν διακόψαις, τὴν μαρτυρικὴν ἐπανατείνας κατ' αὐτῶν δεξιάν, καλῶς κραταιωθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων. Τάχα γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπαρχὴ θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτου γέγονας τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὅρων τῶν Περσικῶν τὸν μαρτυρικὸν ὑπέμεινας θάνατον, ἵν' ὥσπερ σεαυτῷ καὶ χριστιανοῖς ἐπαμύνων, ὧν καὶ πείρᾳ τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν ἐγνώκεις, ὅλην τρέψαις καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων τὴν ἄμυναν."

31 For Gıyaseddin Mesud II (Ghiyas al-Din Mas'ud II), see Muharrem Kesik, "Mesud II," *TDVIA* 29: 342–344; Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks*, 115–116; Gençosman and Uzluk, *Selçuki Devletleri Tarihi*, 53, 104–144, 158, 165–189, 236–243; Osman Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmi Vesikalar: Metin, Tercüme ve Araştırmalar* (Ankara 1988), 1–13, 32–33; Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, 294–301.

32 For the dating of the martyrdom, see Bayrı, "The Martyrdom of Niketas the Younger," 29; eadem, "Deux logothètes et un empereur," 270.

33 On the deposition of Bekkos and condemnation of his writings by the synod, see Laurent, *RegPatr* 4, nos. 1453, 1456.

church.[34] It is also clear from these registers that Mouzalon was close to Gregory II and very much involved in church affairs, especially as they related to Bekkos and his writings.[35]

Bekkos used the writings of theologian Gregory of Nyssa (d. after 394), among others, to demonstrate that the Holy Scripture supported the doctrine of the Latin filioque, and hence the union of churches should be viewed favorably.[36] Gregory of Nyssa in fact played a special role in Mouzalon's martyrion for Niketas the Younger. In the Byzantine hagiographical tradition, the qualification "the Younger," ὁ νέος, serves to distinguish a saint from a homonym who is older. In this case, the predecessor of Niketas the Younger is Niketas the Goth (m. 369–375) (BHG 1339, 1340, 1340b). In a hagiographical text consecrated to a νέος, reference is often made to the earlier saint, as in the case of the abridged version on the martyrdom of Niketas the Younger (BHG 2303), in which indicates that the new martyr had abandoned his baptismal name, Theodore, and adopted the name Niketas due to his love for Niketas the Goth, whose path he was willing to follow.[37] Mouzalon, however, makes no mention of Niketas the Goth, instead invoking Gregory of Nyssa as the earlier saint of the area.[38]

That the martyrdom of Niketas the Younger took place in the same month of the same year as the restoration of Orthodoxy, that Niketas was martyred at the place where the relics of Gregory of Nyssa were buried and his relics placed beside Gregory's at a time of debate and flux in the Byzantine church during which Gregory of Nyssa's writings played an important referential role, could taken collectively be interpreted by the audience of Mouzalon's martyrion to be a divine sign supporting the arguments for the restoration of Orthodoxy against those of Bekkos for union. In this context, the help that Mouzalon demands from the martyr Niketas the Younger was probably related to the

34 Ibid., nos. 1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1490. For Gregory II of Cyprus, see *PLP* 4590.

35 Among eighty-eight letters, at least twenty-nine were addressed to Theodore Mouzalon. See Laurent, *RegPatr* 4, nos. 1466, 1467, 1476, 1479, 1486, 1492–1496, 1501, 1502, 1512, 1519, 1520, 1522–1526, 1532–1534, 1536, 1540, 1541, 1544–1546.

36 John Bekkos, *PG* 141: 613D; Gregory of Nyssa, "De Oratione Dominica (orat. 3)," *PG* 44: 1160B–C.

37 Niketas the Younger (*BHG* 2303), 208.

38 Niketas the Younger by Theodore Mouzalon (*BHG* 2302), 131, lines 83–89: "Οὐδένα ἀγνοεῖν οἶομαι τὴν Νυσσαέων ἐκκλησίαν, ἣν πάλαι ποτὲ ἐκόσμει ὁ πολὺς τὰ θεῖα Γρηγόριος, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ λείψανον σορῷ καὶ τάφῳ δοθὲν μέχρι καὶ ἐς δεῦρο θησαυρός ἐστι θαυμάτων ἀκένωτος, ἐκεῖ καλῶς τοῖς περιλειφθεῖσι τῶν χριστιανῶν καὶ φυλαττόμενον καὶ τιμώμενον." Ibid.,151, lines 862–866: "Εἶτα παρὰ τῷ σηκῷ γίνονται τοῦ θειοτάτου Γρηγορίου· ἔνθα γε καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐκείνου βήματος ἔγγιστα καταθέμενοι, ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις τοῖς νενομισμένοις τὴν ὁσίαν ἐτίμησαν. Καὶ ὁ πρὶν ποιμὴν τὸν νέον ὑποδέχεται μάρτυρα."

controversies within the Byzantine church after the restoration of Orthodoxy in 1282.

This was also a time when attacks by the Turkish groups on the Byzantine frontiers accelerated. The Turkish Muslim incursions and attacks occurred independently of the policies of the Seljuk sultan Mesud II who in Niketas' martyrion is said to be "holding Persian power." Mesud, the son of Izzeddin Keykavus II, accompanied his father to Constantinople in 1261/62 and from there on to the Golden Horde in 1264/65. In summer 1280, he traveled to Anatolia to take the sultanate's throne at Konya. Engaging unsuccessfully in battles with local rulers, Mesud sought the help of the Byzantine emperor, Andronikos II. Between 1290 and 1293, Mesud resided in Constantinople with his family. Although Mesud and Andronikos never met face to face, and the sources are silent on direct Byzantine assistance to Mesud, relations between them were positive.

Two dedicatory inscriptions from the realm of the Seljuks of Rum—one in the church of Saint George in Belisırma and another from a church at the monastery of Saint Chariton in Sille, about 10 kilometers from Konya—mention the names of both Andronikos II and Mesud II. Contrary to the martyrion of Niketas the Younger, however, on these inscriptions Mesud II is praised as the most honorable sultan.[39] The apparently positive relations between Mesud and Andronikos and the dedicatory inscriptions suggest the existence of peaceful relations between the Seljuk and Byzantine rulers,[40] while the

39 On the Saint George inscription, see Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Nouvelle notes cappadociennes," *Byzantion* 33 (1963): 121–183; Vitalien Laurent, "Note additionelle: l'inscription de l'église Saint George de belligérance," *REB* 26 (1968), 367–371; Speros Vryonis, "Another Note on the Inscription of the Church of St. George of Beliserama," *Byzantina* 9 (1977): 11–22; Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantins de Cappadoce: le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords* (Paris 1991), 318–320; Nicole Thierry, "De la datation des églises de Cappadoce," *BZ* 88 (1995): 419–455; Nicole and Michel Thierry, *Nouvelles églises de Cappadocia: region du Hasan Dağ* (Paris 1963), 202–205. For the English translation of the inscriptions, see Métivier, "Byzantium in Question in 13th-Century Seljuk Anatolia," 239, 241 For the original inscription in Greek, see Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2:381–382. On the dedication in Sille, see Nikos A. Bees, "Die Inschriftenaufzeichnung des Kodex Sinaiticus Graecus 508 (976) und die Maria-Spiläotissa-Kloster-Kirche bet Sille (Lycaonien)," *Text und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie* 1 (1922): 6–80; Semavi Eyice, "Akmanastır (S. Chariton) in der Nähe von Konya und die Höhlenkirch von Sille," *BF* 2 (1967): 166–167.

40 Métivier, "Byzantium in Question in 13th-Century Seljuk Anatolia," convincingly argues that the dedicatory inscriptions mentioning the names of the Byzantine emperors in the Seljuk realms do not necessarily prove the allegiance of all the autochthonous Greek Orthodox communities to the emperor or that the communities conquered and dominated by the Seljuks of Rum retained their Byzantine identity at least until the thirteenth

martyrdom of Niketas, an Orthodox Christian, for eating in public during Ramadan, implies the Islamization of public spaces and hence Muslim social pressure on Orthodox Christians, especially in urban areas during the second half of the thirteenth century.

Twenty-eight kilometers northeast of Nyssa, the city of Kırşehir, and its environs became an important mystical-religious center at the end of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This may have triggered the "Islamization of public spaces" in the region. Kırşehir was famous for its real or legendary intellectual and spiritual residents and their cults, among them Gülşehri (d. after 1317), one of the first poets to write in Rumi Turkish; Aşık Paşa (1272–1332), the grandson of Baba İlyas; and Ahi Evran, the semi-legendary Turkish saint and patron of the tanners' guild who is believed to have lived there at the end of the thirteenth century.[41]

2.2.2 Michael of Alexandria (m. ca. 1311–1325) (*BHG* 2273)

During a "barbarian attack" most likely a decade or two after the martyrdom of Niketas the Younger, a young man named Michael was captured near Smyrna and sold to the Mamluks of Egypt.[42] He converted to Islam, received a "barbaric" education, and became a high Mamluk official in the Mamluk army. Michael eventually realized the oblivion into which he had fallen and wished to return to Christianity. He spoke with people at a local church in Alexandria, but he only found the courage to put his thoughts into action after the arrival of the Byzantine imperial embassy in Alexandria. He then dressed as a monk and boarded the imperial ship to leave Egypt for Constantinople. Someone

century. In relation to the dedicatory inscriptions, Métivier points to the donors of these churches, the Byzantine aristocrats who moved to the Seljuk realms in the thirteenth century, as the ones who claimed or simply displayed their attachment to the emperor.

41 On Gülşehri, see Mustafa Özkan, "Gülşehri," *TDVIA* 14: 250–252. On Aşık Paşa, see Günay Kut and Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Aşık Paşa," *TDVIA* 4:1–3; Fahir Iz, "Ashık Pasha," *EI²* 1:698–699. On Baba İlyas, see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Baba İlyas," *TDVIA* 4:368; idem, "Baba İlyas-i Horasani," *EI³*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_24265 (accessed May 24, 2019); Claude Cahen, "Babai," *EI²* 1:843–844. On Ahi Evran, see İlhan Şahin, "Ahi Evran," *TDVIA* 1:529–530; Fr. Taeschner, "Akhi Ewran," *EI²* 1:324–325. For Kırşehir, see Hild and Restle, *Kappadokien*, 143–144; İlhan Şahin, "Kırşehir," *TDVIA* 25:481–485. On the poetic image of the power of Christian beauty enticing the believer into *küfr* (unbelief) as a central theme in one of the writings of the fourteenth-century poet Gülşehri, see Sara Nur Yıldız, "Battling Kufr (Unbelief) in the Land of Infidels: Gülşehri's Turkish Adaptation of Attar's Mantıq al-Tayr," in Peacock, De Nicola, and Yıldız, *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, 329–347.

42 Michael of Alexandria (*BHG* 2273).

denounced him for forsaking Islam, landing Michael in prison. Michael then refused an offer of release for remaining faithful to Islam, so he was executed.

Michael was probably captured during the attacks by either the Turkish emirates of Menteşe or Aydın or the Catalan Grand Company before being sold to the Mamluks.[43] It was during this chaotic period that a part of the population in western Asia Minor, including some Byzantine aristocrats, fled north to Constantinople in search of safety. In 1305 riots broke out in Constantinople over dissatisfaction with the policies of Andronikos II regarding the employment of the Catalan Grand Company and the dismantlement of the Byzantine navy, and plots were hatched against him. The Catalan mercenaries and houses of the rich notables were attacked.[44] Someone anonymously left a defamatory opuscule against Andronikos on his throne in the palace.[45] Under these circumstances, Andronikos forced the population of Constantinople to take an

43 The Catalan Grand Company was formed by Roger de Flor, a former member of Knights Templar and consisted of soldiers who had fought in the war between the throne of Aragon and the Angevins in Sicily. Its activities are recorded in the Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner, who was one of the company's chief administrators. In 1302, the company was employed by the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II. They achieved some impressive victories against the Turkish principalities in Anatolia, but were never welcomed by the co-emperor and son of Andronikos II, Michael IX (1294/5–1320), who had established his court in Adrianople. This disagreement combined with suspicions and a series of misunderstandings over the terms of service, authority and payments, led to open conflict between the Byzantine state and the company. The leaders of the company were murdered in Adrianople. In response, the company crushed the Byzantine army and for the next couple of years they devastated the empire before moving southward. In 1311, they established their own independent state in Athens that lasted until 1388, when Athens passed to the control of the Acciaiuioli family from Florence. For an analysis of the mercenary groups in fourteenth century Byzantium in general and the Catalan Grand Company in particular, see Savvas Kyriakidis, "The Conduct and Attitudes of Western European Mercenaries in Fourteenth-Century Byzantium," in *Greece, Rome, Byzantium and Africa. Studies Presented to Benjamin Hendrickx on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Efi Zacharopoulou and William J. Henderson (Athens 2016), 495–516. For the Chronicle of Muntaner, see Vicent J. Escarti, *Muntaner. Cronica*, 2 vols. (Valencia 1999). For a French translation, see *Les Almogavres: les expéditions des Catalans en Orient. Ramun Muntaner*, ed. and trans. Jean-Marie Barberà (Toulouse 2002). For a discussion of the nature of these "barbaric" attacks, see Bayrı, "Deux logothètes et un empereur," 272–274. For a concise description of the situation in western Anatolia around this period before the arrival of the Ottomans, see Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "L'installation des Ottomans," in *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge*, ed. Bernard Geyer, Jacques Lefort, and Jacqueline Argant (Paris 2003), 355–358.

44 Georges Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, vol. 4, Book 12.26, 581 and Book 12.31, 595–599.

45 Ibid., Book 13.5, 629–631. On the dissatisfaction of the Constantinopolitan population and the plots against Andronikos II, see Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 319–321.

oath of loyalty to him and to his co-emperor, Michael IX Palaiologos (1294/5–1320).[46]

Alongside these internal conflicts, after Acre (Akka) fell to the Mamluks in 1291 the papacy had forbade all commercial activity with Egypt. The interruption of commercial and diplomatic exchanges between Byzantium and Egypt had also been on the agenda of the Western powers, which were planning to organize a new crusade against Egypt.[47] Internal pressure on Andronikos II for his cordial relations with Egypt was evident during 1296/97.[48]

Considering the historical context in which the martyrion of Michael of Alexandria was produced, and judging from the difficulty of the Atticized Greek utilized in the martyrion by Theodore Metochites (d. 1332),[49] it can be argued that this text, similar to the case of Niketas the Younger, targeted a small group of Byzantine elites in Constantinople, not the broader general public of Christians living under Byzantine or Mamluk rule. The goal was to point out to the discontented elites that the martyrdoms were divine signs of God's support of the God-loving Byzantine emperor Andronikos and that in the Byzantine oikoumene, there were Orthodox Christians, ready to die for their faith of which the emperor was protector.

2.3 *Liberation of Philadelphia* (*March 7, 1348*) (*BHG 801q*): *A Dissident Text*

During Lent in 1348, the forces of Umur (d. 1348) of the Aydın emirate encircled the western Anatolian city of Philadelphia (Alaşehir).[50] He had convinced some of the city's residents to seize and occupy the fortified acropolis so his

46 On the oath, see Petre Guran, "Une théorie politique du serment au XIVe siècle: Manuel Moschopoulos," in *Oralité et lien social au Moyen Âge* (*Occident, Byzance, Islam*)*: parole donnée, foi jurée, serment*, ed. Marie-France Auzépy and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Paris 2008), 169–185.

47 Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*: *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, trans. Peter Lock (Farnham 2011), 49–157. For analysis of the work of Sanudo, see Angeliki Laiou, "Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks: The Background of Anti-Turkish League of 1332–1334," *Speculum* 46 (1970): 374–392.

48 Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, vol. 3, Book 9.23, 272–275; Laurent, *RegPatr* 4, no. 1569.

49 For Theodore Metochites, see *PLP* 17982.

50 Martyrs of Philadelphia (*BHG* 801q). Also see Elizabeth Zachariadou, "Note sur l'article de Matoula Couroupou," in Ahrweiler, *Geographica Byzantina*, 78–80. For Umur, known also as Umur Beg or Umur Paşa, and the emirate of Aydın (Aydınoğlu), see Alice-Mary Talbot, "Umur Beg," *ODB* 3:2141; Erdoğan Merçil, "Aydınoğulları," *TDVIA* 4:239–241; Irène Mélikoff, "Aydın-oghlu," *EI*[2] 1:783; Paul Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident: recherches sur "La Geste d'Umur Pacha"* (Paris 1957); Himmet Akın, *Aydınoğulları Tarihi hakkında bir Araştırma* (Ankara 1968). For the epic of Umur, the *Düsturname*, see Yinanç, *Düsturname-i Enveri*; Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le destan d'Umur Pacha*.

army could climb up to it by ladder. Subsequently, three hundred Turkish soldiers ascended the fortress. Then, in the dark of night, another one hundred Turkish soldiers climbed the walls of the palace and occupied two main city towers, from which they launched an attack on the city at their feet.

Some Philadelphians fought and died on the walls and towers inside the city, while others engaged soldiers attacking the city outside its exterior walls. The "barbarians" then conceived another plan and attacked the city from a different direction, managing to pierce the exterior wall and arrive at a door of the interior walls. They set fire to the door, but due to the bravery of some men and women there, they could not breach it, and ultimately retreated. The Turks then attacked the palace in force, but Umur's soldiers who had earlier climbed and occupied the towers were trapped there and asked the emir to enter into a truce. Umur agreed to a truce, but a short while later, reneged on it and regrouped his army to attack the city on Easter. He blocked provisions and commodities from reaching the city, but through a miracle in the form of his decision to retreat, Umur decided to leave for Smyrna, where he was killed by an arrow thrown by the Latins.

A section at the end of the text on Philadelphia's liberation—a historical notice in a synaxarion for summer (March–August) dating to the fourteenth century—commemorates the sixteen soldiers who died fighting against Umur's army and reveals that the soldiers were received as saints, crowned by God, and thus considered martyrs.[51] Makarios Chrysokephalos (1336–1382), the metropolitan of Philadelphia, or someone from his entourage, composed the text, most probably in 1349, for the anniversary of the city's liberation.[52]

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51 Martyrs of Philadelphia (*BHG* 801q), 73, lines 18–31: "Κἀκεῖσε τὴν θείαν μυσταγωγίαν ἐκτελοῦμεν ἐν τῷ πανσέπτῳ ναῷ τῆς σεβασμίας μονῆς τῆς μέγαλης ὑπεράγνου Θεοτόκου, τῆς οὕτω λεγομένης Βορεινῆς, εἰς δόξαν Χριστοῦ καὶ μνημόσυνον εὐκλεὲς τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁπάντων ἐνδόξως ἀποθανόντων τηνικαῦτα γενναίων ἀνδρῶν. Οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀμωμήτου ἡμῶν πίστεως μέλλοντες τότε διαμάχεσθαι εἰς τῷ περισώσασθαι ἐν Χριστοῦ τὴν πόλιν, ἐξαγορευόμενοι πρότερον, καὶ τῶν ἀχράντων τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνοντες, οὕτως ἀπήρχοντο πολεμήσοντες ὡς διὰ Χριστὸν τεθνηξόμενοι. Καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν θείᾳ δυνάμει διεσώθησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανον κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν πρόθεσιν τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ τὴν ἀΐδιον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν προσλαβόντος αὐτούς.... Τοὺς δὲ ἀναιρεθέντας μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων πάντας εἰσδέξαιτο στεφανίτας ὁ Κύριος ἀπολαμβάνοντας μετὰ τῆς ἀϊδίου δόξης ἐκείνης καὶ τὴν ἐνταῦθα εὐφημίαν καὶ ἀνακήρυξιν."

52 Lemerle, "Philadelphie et l'émirat d'Aydın," 59, 61, 67. The text is the first Greek source on one of Umur's sieges of Philadelphia. This siege is not mentioned in the *Düsturname*. Chrysokephalos, born into a noble family, became a monk in 1328 and was later ordained as a hieromonk and became metropolitan of Philadelphia. He remained moderate on the question of the union of churches and Palamism. In 1345, he opposed Palamas, but a year later changed sides. See Alice-Mary Talbot, "Chrysokephalos, Makarios," *ODB* 1:453; *PLP* 31138.

This historical notice contains dissident elements with regard to Byzantine notions of martyrdom, as it recognizes soldiers who died in battle as martyrs. As it has been mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the Byzantine church typically refused to attribute martyr status to fallen soldiers. The consideration of sixteen soldiers as martyrs overlaps quite well with the political stance of Philadelphia, which had served as a base of dissent for some Byzantine commanders opposing Constantinople since the end of the twelfth century.[53]

Around 1203, Constantinople no longer controlled the city.[54] With the installation of Nicene rule in western Asia Minor after 1204, Philadelphia lost its independence, but from 1290 until its annexation in 1390 by the Ottoman ruler Bayezid I, it remained politically independent, economically self-sufficient, and powerful enough to conduct its own foreign affairs with the Mongols, Latins, and Turks.[55] As a Byzantine city in the middle of Turkish emirates, Philadelphia experienced numerous Turkish assaults and could rely only on itself for defense against them. Its two metropolitans, Theoleptos of Philadelphia (1283/4–1322)[56] and Makarios Chrysokephalos, played major roles in administering and defending the city.

The relationship between Philadelphia and Constantinople was reduced to ecclesiastical connections during this period. For example Chrysokephalos, Philadelphia's metropolitan during the siege of 1348, traveled frequently to Constantinople to participate in the permament synod and was a candidate to lead the patriarchate in 1353, but lost out to Philotheos Kokkinos (1353–1354/5, 1364–1376). The commemoration of the sixteen soldiers who fell in battle as

53 Jean-Claude Cheynet, "Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de dissidence, 1182–1206," *in Philadelphie et autres études*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler (Paris 1984), 39–54.

54 Nicolas Oikonomides, "La décomposition de l'empire byzantin à la veille de 1204 et les origines de l'empire de Nicée: à propos de la Partitio Romanie," in *Actes du XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines, Athènes, Septembre 1976: rapports et co-rapports* (Athens 1980), reprinted in *Byzantium from the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade*, study XX (Aldershot 1992).

55 Peter Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte Philadelpheias im 14. Jahrhundert (1293–1390)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 35 (1969): 375–431; Hélène Ahrweiler, "La région de Philadelphie au XIVe siècle (1290–1390), dernier bastion de l'hellénisme en Asie Mineure," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 127, no. 1 (1983): 175–197; Nicolas Oikonomides, "Pour une typologie des villes 'séparées' sous les Paléologues," in *Society, Culture and Politics in Byzantium*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou, study XXI (Aldershot 2005).

56 For Theoleptos, see Angela Constantidines Hero, *The Life and Letters of Theoleptos of Philadelphia* (Brookline, MA, 1994); Demetrios J. Constantelos, "Mysticism and Social Involvement in the Later Byzantine Church: Theoleptos of Philadelphia. A Case Study," *Byzantine Studies* 6 (1979): 83–94; *PLP* 7509.

martyrs suggests that even in terms of ecclesiastical issues, the church in Philadelphia could and did act independently from the traditions of the Byzantine church. The city's relations with the Latins were not hostile. It is known that the people of Philadelphia were in contact with the Latin crusaders, who occupied the port of Smyrna in 1344.[57]

2.4 *Hesychast Patriarchs (1347–1397)*

The reign of the hesychast patriarchs (1347–1397) brought about a resurgence in the production of martyria and the promotion of three new martyrs in the Byzantine church: Theodore the Younger (m. 1347–ca. 1369) (*BHG* 2431),[58] the three martyrs of Vilnius (m. 1347) (*BHG* 2035),[59] and Anthimos, the metropolitan of Athens (m. 1371) (*BHG* 2029).[60] Hesychia (ἡσυχία) literally means "tranquility" or "quietude," while *hesychasm* derives from ἡσυχάζειν, which means to be quiet or at rest.[61] A hesychast practices hesychia. The term hesychia has been used since the fourth century to designate a contemplative monastic way of life. Sustained mental praying had always played a central role in the spirituality of contemplative monasticism of the Christian East.[62] In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the practice of hesychia integrated respiratory techniques and concentration to perpetuate prayer. The thirteen monks of

57 Zachariadou, "Note sur l'article de Matoula Couroupou," 80; Elizabeth Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydın (1300–1415)* (Venice 1983); Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydın*, 236; Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte Philadelpheias," 401–402.

58 Theodore the Younger (*BHG* 2431).

59 Three Martyrs of Vilnius (*BHG* 2035). For another edition of the Greek martyrion as well as the Slavonic version, see Darius Baronas, *Trys Vilniaus kankiniai: gyvenimas ir istorija* (Vilnius 2000). On the saint dossier of the three martyrs of Lithuania, see idem, "The Three Martyrs of Vilnius: A Fourteenth-Century Martyrdom and Its Documentary Sources," *Analecta Bollandiana* 122 (2004): 83–134. On the martyrs of Vilnius and the role they played in relations between Byzantium and Lithuania, see idem, "Byzantium and Lithuania: North and South Look at Each Other," *Byzantium, New Peoples, New Powers: The Byzantino-Slav Contact Zone, From the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Miliana Kaimakamova, Maciej Salamon, and Malgorzata Smorag Rozycka (Cracow 2007), 309; John Meyendorff, "The Three Lithuanian Martyrs: Byzantium and Lithuania in the Fourteenth Century," in *Eikon and Logos*, ed. H. Goltz, vol. 2 (Wittenberg 1981), 185; John Meyendorff, "Is 'Hesychasm' the Right Word? Remarks on Religious Ideology in the Fourteenth Century," in *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on His Sixtieth Birthday by His Colleagues and Students*, ed. Cyril Mango and Omeljan Pritsak, vol. 7 (Cambridge 1983), 454.

60 Anthimos, metropolitan of Athens (*BHG* 2029).

61 Podskalsky, "Hesychia."

62 Petre Guran, "Jean VI Cantacuzène, l'hésychasme et l'empire: les miniatures du codex Parisinus graecus 1242," in *L'empereur hagiographe: culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine*, ed. Petre Guran (Bucarest 2001), 98; Meyendorff, "Is 'Hesychasm' the Right Word," 448.

Cyprus had been hesychast monks in search of a quite place, a monastery, where they could practice hesychia. Yet the term *hesychasm* is often equated with the events of the fourteenth century and viewed as a novel form of spirituality introduced by Athonite monks and defended by Gregory Palamas (ca.1296–1359) and his disciples.[63]

Palamas's theology was initially banished as heresy before being recognized as Orthodoxy following a number of local church councils held in Constantinople (1341, 1347, 1351, and 1368). Palamas's defense of hesychasm provoked a polemic that incited some Palamist monks to leave their monasteries and hermitages to defend the theological opinions of their master in the political arena.[64] After the Byzantine civil war (1341–1347) over succession to the throne, and after the first victory for Palamas's theology in 1347, emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–1354) promoted Palamite monks to the most important metropolitan dioceses in the Patriarchate of Constantinople. They headed the patriarchal throne throughout the fourteenth century: Isidoros I (1347–1350), Kallistos I (1350–1353, 1354–1363), Philotheos Kokkinos (1353–1354/5, 1364–1376), Neilos Kerameus (1379–1388), and Anthony IV (1389–1390, 1391–1397).[65] These Palamist patriarchs, here called the hesychast patriarchs, became active agents in the politics of the Orthodox Christian world extending beyond the borders of the Byzantine Empire.[66]

63 Gregory Palamas, theologian, archbishop of Thessalonica (1347–59), and saint, canonized in 1368, see *PLP* 21546; Aristeides Papadakis, "Palamas, Gregory," *ODB* 3: 1560; John Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris 1959); Johannes Pahlitzch, "Gregory Palamas," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical Study* (*1350–1500*), ed. David Thomas and Alexander Mallett, vol. 5 (Leiden 2013), 101–108. On the fourteenth-century hesychasm, see John Meyendorff, "Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century: Spiritual and Intellectual Legacy," *DOP* 42 (1988): 158; Dirk Krausmüller, "Rise of Hesychasm," in *Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity: Eastern Christanity*, ed. Michael Angold, vol. 5 (Cambridge 2008), 101–126.

64 Petre Guran, "Eschatology and Political Theology in the Last Centuries of Byzantium," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 45 (2007): 77.

65 Meyendorff, "Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century," 160.

66 Guran, "Eschatology and Political Theology," 78. Marie-Hélène Congourdeau argues that the hesychast patriarchs should not be treated as a homogenous group. There were conflicts between some of them, such as between Kallistos and Philotheos in terms of the relationship of the emperor to the patriarch. Kallistos was against John VI's alliance with the Turks, while Philotheos argued for autonomy for the ecclesiastical powers. See Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, "Deux patriarches palamites en rivalité: Kallistos et Philothée," in *Le Patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople aux XIVe–XVIe siècles: rupture et continuité. Actes du colloque international, Rome, 5–6–7 décembre 2005*, ed. Augustine Casiday (Paris 2007), 37–53; Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, "Nicolas Cabasilas et Palamisme," in *Gregorio Palamas e oltre: studi e documenti sulle controversie teologiche del XIV secolo bizantino*, ed. Antonio Rigo (Florence 2004), 191–210.

As the Turkish Muslim groups continued their advance from the east, the Serbians and Bulgarians dominated the Balkans to the west, and the Venetians and the Genoese controlled navigation and commerce within Constantinople itself, with the power of the emperor nominal and increasingly weakened by internal struggles, the Patriarchate of Constantinople managed to retain its prestige and influence throughout the Orthodox world. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, heading small minorities of Orthodox Christians, continued to be dependent on Constantinople. The Balkan churches maintained respect for the patriarchate, and in Russia the metropolitan of "Kiev and all Russia" was still appointed from the Byzantine capital. The period of hesychast patriarchs witnessed a broad religious and political movement that struggled for a common set of values, promoted political and cultural priorities inherited from Byzantium, and promoted the universalism of Orthodox Christianity in these regions in the face of challenges from the east and the west.[67]

2.4.1 Theodore the Younger (m. 1347–ca. 1369) (*BHG* 2431)

The first martyrion for a new martyr of the Orthodox Church under the reign of the hesychast patriarchs was for Theodore the Younger (m. 1347–ca. 1369) (*BHG* 2431). Raised by pious parents in Adrianople, Theodore was captured as a small child and became a prisoner of war of the "Persians," who at that time were ravaging things Roman (τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίον).[68] Theodore had been circumcised and was educated by the Persians. When Theodore reached the age of reason, he regretted denying his faith after realizing that he had fallen from glory into oblivion. He then met a wise man, to whom he declared his intention of returning to the hearth of the Gospel.

67 Meyendorff, "Is 'Hesychasm' the Right Word," 451.

68 Theodore the Younger (*BHG* 2431), 208n21. Oikonomides locates the martyrdom between 1347 and 1362, as there is no mention of the Byzantine civil war of 1341–1347, between Anna of Savoy (1306–1365) and John VI Kantakouzenos (1341–1347), and no indication that Adrianople had fallen to the Turks during Theodore's capture. Oikonomides cites 1362 as the year of the Ottomans' conquest of Adrianople, but the date remains a source of debate. Halil İnalcık dates it to 1361 and Irène Beldiceanu to between June 1365 and few years before 1380. Elizabeth Zachariadou agrees with Beldiceanu, placing it around 1369. See Halil İnalcık, "Edirne'nin Fethi," in *Edirne: Edirne'nin 600. Fetih Yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı* (Ankara 1965), 137–159; Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "La conquête d'Adrianople par les Turcs: la pénétration turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques ottomanes," *TM* 1 (1965): 439–461; Elizabeth Zachariadou, "The Conquest of Adrianople by the Turks," *Studi veneziani* 12 (1970): 211–218. On the dating of the fall of the city, see also Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204–1571: The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia 1976), 246–247n106.

The wise man instructed Theodore that it would not be wise for him to be in communion with the Christian community and the church as he had denied his faith in front of a crowd of infidels and carried the mark of impiety [that he had been circumcised].[69] The man proposed two paths for Theodore: either reveal his intention of returning to the Truth in front of the people to whom he had denied his original faith or go to Constantinople and confess everything in front of the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople, who was "the rudder of God and the procurer of binding and loosing" (Matthew 16:19). Theodore went to Constantinople, where the patriarch also told him to reveal his Christian faith in front of the Muslims, but advised him to prepare himself for such a confrontation, which would most probably lead to his martyrdom.

Theodore then proceeded to Melagina, the place where he had denied his faith.[70] He lived reclusively in the mountains, as a shepherd, while revering God in private. One day, he went down to a lake for a swim with an acquaintance. After Theodore took off his clothes, his friend observed that he had been circumcised and asked why. Theodore related his story. After a short while, his friend reported what he had heard to the Persians, who initially tried to convince Theodore to return to Islam. Ultimately unable to persuade him, they sentenced him to death by fire. The Christians who witnessed his martyrdom collected what remained of Theodore and took it to a church and buried it.

Melagina in the second half of the fourteenth century fell within the realm of the first Ottoman sultans. Although the exact location of Melagina remains a source of debate, it is known that in the Battle of Bapheus, in 1302 near Nicomedia (İzmit), and over the course of the succeeding decade, Osman I (d. 1324), the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, took control of lands west of Sangarios (Sakarya) and penetrated deep into the Bithynian plain.[71] He failed to capture

69 Theodore the Younger (*BHG* 2431), 217.

70 Τὰ Μελάγινα (τὰ Μαλάγινα, τὰ Μελάγγεια) is a district or city in Bithynia, in the central Sangarios/Sakarya Valley. In the eighth and ninth centuries, Melagina was the site of the main imperial stables from which mounts were obtained for campaigns in the East. Jean-Claude Cheynet, "L'époque byzantine," in *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge*, 316–317. Melagina became the center of a province in the twelfth century and is attested as an archbishopric. See Clive Foss, "Malagina," *ODB* 2:1274. Also see René-Claude Bondoux, "Les villes," in *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge*, 394–395.

71 According to Oikonomides, Melagina is in the vicinity of present day Yenişehir, in the region of Bithynia, and where Theodore swam is Ascanian/İznik Lake. See Theodore the Younger (*BHG* 2431), 209n22. Clive Foss finds clues to Melagina's location in the castle of Metabole, which he locates as sitting above the village of Paşalar, which lies to the north of the market town of Pamukova. Clive Foss, "Byzantine Melagina and the Lower Sangarius," *Anatolian Studies* 40 (1990): 161–183. For a challenge to Foss, see Christopher Giros,

any of the cities, but extended his influence over small communities.[72] When his son Orhan (r. 1324–1362) came to power, he seized Prousa (Bursa) in April 1326. A year later, an earthquake made possible the capture of Lopadion (Ulubat). The attempt of Andronikos III Palaiologos (r. 1328–1341) to dislodge the Ottomans from Bithynia in 1329 failed, and in due course the remaining Bithynian cities capitulated. In 1331 Nicaea (İznik) and in 1337 Nicomedia became Ottoman possessions. By 1347, the region of Bithynia, where Melagina was situated, was securely under the control of the Ottomans, therefore the "Persians" mentioned in the text on Theodore the Younger must be the Ottomans.[73]

In Theodore's case, as in that of Michael of Alexandria, a Byzantine boy comes to serve in an army of a Muslim political entity after being enslaved as a war prisoner and converting to Islam. Contrary to the text on Michael, however, that the one on Theodore identifies the patriarch of Constantinople as the person responsible for the Orthodox Christian flock under foreign rule. The patriarch in question could be Isidoros I, Kallistos I, or Philotheos Kokkinos. Yet the production of a story of a Byzantine boy abducted during a "Persian" raid near Adrianople when Turkish forces raided Thrace seems more likely to be linked to the reign of Kallistos I (1350–1353, 1354–1363) when one considers the opposition of Kallistos I to the alliance of John VI Kantakouzenos with the Turks and his refusal to coronate Matthew I Kantakouzenos (co-emperor 1353–1357, eldest son of John VI) in 1353.[74]

During the Byzantine civil war of 1341–1347, John VI Kantakouzenos and his rivals all requested assistance from Turkish forces. While aiding the Byzantines

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"Les fortifications médiévales," in *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge*, 221. For other hypotheses on Melagina's location, see Sencer Şahin, "Malagina/Melagina am Sangarios," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 7 (1986): 153–166; Vitalien Laurent, "La vita retractata et les miracles posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa," *Subsidia Hagiographica* 31 (1958): 10, 66–74. Melagina, as described in the text of Theodore the Younger, cannot be Pamukova or Paşalar because there is no lake near these two places. The Yenişehir area, as proposed by Oikonomides, seems to be the most plausible location in the case of Theodore the Younger. The letters of Palamas reveal that he was taken to Melagina, to the summer residence of Orhan, around the time of the martyrdom of Theodore, and that it was a two-day journey from Bursa. For Palamas's captivity and his stay in Melagina, see Anna Phillipides-Braat, "La captivité de Palamas chez les Turcs, dossier et commentaire," *TM* 7 (1979): 146–147n21.

72 Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "La conquête de la Bithynie maritime, étape décisive dans la foundation de l'état ottoman," in *Byzans als Raum: zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes*, ed. Klaus Belke et al. (Vienna 2000), 21–35; eadem, "L'installation des Ottomans," 351–374; Rudi Paul Lindner, "Anatolia, 1300–1451," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. Kate Fleet, vol. 1 (New York 2009), 102–137.

73 Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "L'installation des Ottomans," 373.

74 See Congourdeau, "Deux patriarches palamites en rivalité: Kallistos et Philothée," 37–53. For Matthew I Kantakouzenos, see *PLP* 10983.

in their conflicts against each other, the Turks also raided Thrace and Macedonia.[75] Theodore was probably abducted from Adrianople sometime in the 1340s, during the Turkish forces' involvement in Byzantine affairs. Until 1346, Umur Beg of Aydın, the antagonist in the martyrion on the soldiers of Philadelphia, was the major ally first of Andronikos III and then of John VI Kantakouzenos. While Umur was kept busy with affairs in Asia, especially Smyrna,[76] Kantakouzenos turned to the Ottoman ruler Orhan for help. In 1346, Kantakouzenos married his daughter Theodora to Orhan to strengthen their ties.[77] Yet one should remember that the military forces of each emir could and did include soldiers and groups from other emirates.

Although Kantakouzenos entered Constantinople victorious in 1347 and began to rule as co-emperor with John V Palaiologos (r. 1341–1391), in 1352 he would need Orhan's assistance against John V and his Serbian allies. In 1352, John V Palaiologos with the help of the Serbian ruler Stefan Uros IV Duşan (r. 1331–1355) invaded the territory of Matthew I Kantakouzenos, son of John Kantakouzenos and laid siege to Adrianople.[78] Upon John Kantakouzenos' request, Orhan sent his soldiers to Didymoteichon (Demotika) in October 1352 and engaged the Serbian forces. This resulted in the defeat of the Serbian forces and a victory for the Turks, who were acting in the service of the Byzantines.

During this time, in 1352, the Ottoman forces under Süleyman Paşa (d. 1357), the eldest son of Orhan, acquired Tzympe, the Ottomans' first European territory.[79] In March 1354, an earthquake leveled walls around Gallipoli (Kallipolis / Gelibolu) and other neighboring communities. Süleyman occupied the city and fortified it. In November 1354, John V entered Constantinople and forced Kantakouzenos to abdicate. After Kantakouzenos stepped aside, Orhan returned to attacking Byzantine lands in Thrace. John V, seeking Western help to halt the Turkish advance, signed a chrysobull in 1355 binding him to secure the obedience of the Byzantine Church to the Roman Catholic Church in return

75 Savvas Kyriakidis, "The Idea of Civil War in Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century Byzantium," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 49 (2012): 243–256; idem, *Warfare in Late Byzantium, 1204–1453* (Leiden 2011), 32.

76 Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydın*, 218–246.

77 Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, 121–122nn9 and 11.

78 Mark C. Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia 1992), 99.

79 Nicolas Oikonomides, "From Soldiers of Fortune to Gazi Warriors: The Tzympe Affair," in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. Colin J. Heywood and Colin Imber (Istanbul 1994), 239–247.

for military aid against the Turks.[80] Few years later, John V would try to ally with Orhan by betrothing his daughter Eirene Palaiologina (b. 1349) to Orhan's son Halil (b. 1346) in 1358.[81]

The year 1354 witnessed a number of significant events. As noted, Gallipoli fell to the Ottomans, who also began their concerted advance into Thrace. John VI Kantakouzenos abdicated, and the Ottomans captured Gregory Palamas, then the archbishop of Thessalonica. Palamas's captivity, during which he penned three letters, is important in understanding the case of Theodore the Younger. In these letters, Palamas provides contextual evidence for the circumstances under which Theodore the Younger lived and died.[82]

In 1354 Palamas left Thessalonica for Constantinople to mediate between John V Palaiologos and John VI Kantakouzenos.[83] En route via Tenedos a few days after the Ottomans' seizure of Gallipoli, stormy weather forced Palamas's ship to seek refuge near the city. Ottoman soldiers seized Palamas as a war captive and having learned that he was an important Byzantine personality, kept him on the move for a year as they sought to obtain a hefty ransom from the Byzantine authorities for his liberty. They took him first to Lampsakos (Lapseki) and then to Pegai (Karabiga). Christians, including some monks, lived in Pegai, but Palamas enjoyed the hospitality of Mavrozoumis, a high official in Orhan's entourage, and thanks to him, Palamas was able to preach in the church at Pegai.[84] After three months there, Palamas left for Bursa, where his party stayed for two days and received visits from Christians of the city. He was then moved to Melagina, to Orhan's summer residence. In Melagina, he had the opportunity to converse with Orhan's grandson Ismail before being transferred to a Christian village in Melagina. There he met the ambassadors of John VI Kantakouzenos who had come to invite Orhan to Nicomedia. In Melagina,

80 Kenneth M. Setton, "Pierre Thomas and Peter I of Cyprus, the Crusade and the Revolt of Crete (1352–1364)," in *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, vol. 1, *The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Philadelphia 1976), 225.

81 Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650: The Structure of Power* (London 2002), 92–93. On Eirene's marriage arrangement with Halil, see Thierry Ganchou, "Les chroniques vénitiennes et les unions ottomanes des filles de l'empereur byzantin Jean V Palaiologos, Eirènè et Maria (1358 et 1376)," in *The Byzantine-Ottoman Transition in Venetian Chronicles*, ed. Sebastian Kolditz and Markus Koller (Rome 2018), 172–179.

82 For Greek text with a French translation, see Philippidis-Braat, "La captivité de Palamas," 109–221. For an English translation of the letter to his church, see Daniel J. Sahas, "Captivity and Dialogue: Gregory Palamas (1296–1360) and the Muslims," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25 (1980): 409–436.

83 Philotheos, "Enkomion," *PG* 151: 626A; Phillipidis-Braat, "La Captivité de Palamas," 193.

84 On Mavrozoumis, see *PLP* 17439.

Palamas met Taronites, Orhan's physician, who showed him great respect.[85] After a while, Palamas left for Nicaea, where he probably stayed until the end of his captivity in spring 1355.[86]

From Palamas's observations during his captivity, one learns that although the Byzantine church had been impoverished under the Ottoman rulers, Christians and monks continued to practice their religion in churches and monasteries without being pressured to renounce their faith. Mavrozoumis and Taronites, two high officials in Orhan's entourage, were Christians. Palamas's description gives the impression that a modus vivendi had been reached after the Ottoman conquest of the cities of Bithynia. In Pegai and Nicaea, Christian communities were settled around a church or a monastery. In Melagina, Palamas had the opportunity to discuss Christian doctrines with a group of Muslims who had converted from Judaism (Chionai).[87] During his stay, Palamas also had dialogues with average Muslims, including the soldiers who escorted him from place to place or with Muslim residents of the areas.

As noted, the martyrdom of Theodore took place around the time of Palamas's captivity. Both men were in Melagina, but it is not possible to know whether their stays overlapped. Although a direct connection between Theodore the Younger and Palamas is not supported by the evidence, it is tempting to suggest that the wise man who encouraged and gave advice to Theodore could well be Gregory Palamas. Another interesting fact perhaps relevant to the hypothesis of Theodore meeting Palamas in Melagina is that the manuscript of the *akolouthia*, liturgical rite, on Theodore the Younger originally belonged to the synaxarion of the archbishopric of Thessalonica and Palamas was metropolitan of Thessalonica (1347–1359).[88] If a modus vivendi was

85 Phillipidis-Braat, "La captivité de Palamas," 201–203. On Taronites, see ibid., 114n20; Martin Vučetić, "Taronites," in Thomas and Mallett, *Christian-Muslim Relations,* 110–113; *PLP* 27532.

86 Albert Failler, "Note sur la chronologie du règne de Jean Cantacuzène," *REB* 29 (1971): 294, 296–298.

87 On Chionai, see Phillipides-Braat, "La captivité de Palamas," 214–218. On the fact that the debate took place in Melagina, and not in Nicaea, see ibid., 202. On Chionai, also see Michel Balivet, "Byzantins judaïsants et Juifs islamisés: des Kühhan (Kahin) aux Xionai (Xionios)," *Byzantion* 52 (1982): 24–59; Klaus-Peter Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam: Politische Realität und theologische Polemik im palaiologenzeitlichen Byzanz* (Würzburg 1991), 572–577; Elizabeth Zachariadou, "Religious Dialogue between Byzantines and Turks during the Ottoman Expansion," *Religiongespräche im Mittelalter*, ed. Bernard Lewis and Friedrich Niewöhner (Wiesbaden 1992), 289–304; Ruth A. Miller, "Religious v. Ethnic Identity in Fourteenth-Century Bithynia: Gregory Palamas and the Case of the Chionai," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (2007): 27–42.

88 On the manuscript, see Theodore the Younger (*BHG* 2431), 206–207.

reached for the Christian community under Ottoman rule, and the situation was different from that conveyed twenty years earlier by the patriarch of Constantinople John XIV Kalekas (1334–1347) in his two letters to the Christians of Nicaea after the city fell to the Ottomans in 1331,[89] in which the Patriarch approves reconversion and promotes martyrdom, does Theodore's martyrdom signify that John's message to reconvert and eventually face the possibility of being martyred had echoed among the converts to Islam? What, indeed, did the martyrdom of Theodore actually signify?

John XIV Kalekas's letters could well have been influential in Theodore's decision to reconvert, although Theodore was not originally from Bithynia, Nicaea, Prouse, or Melagina, but from Adrianople. He was a prisoner of war and young when he converted to Islam. His martyrdom, as in the case of Michael of Alexandria, reveals another major concern of the Byzantine authorities: the capture and enslavement of Byzantines during Turkish raids and invasions, which expanded in the first half of the fourteenth century, first in western Anatolia and then in Thrace. The production of the martyrion on Theodore the Younger should also be interpreted within the framework of how the disciples of Palamas, the hesychast patriarchs in Constantinople, imagined the Christian communities in infidel areas and how they attached a positive value to the witness of the martyrdom and to the evangelization of the infidels.

For the Palamists, the monk who glorified God through the demonstration of true faith became the new carrier of the universal Christian mission. Writing in 1370, Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos, the disciple and biographer of Palamas, emphasized the universality of the patriarchate and defined the functions of the see of Constantinople:

> Since God has appointed Our Humility as leader of all Christians found anywhere in the inhabited earth, as solicitor and guardian of their souls, all of them depend on me. I am the father and teacher of them all. If it

89 Kalekas, in letters dated 1338, states that conversion to Islam apparently represented a serious threat to the Christian community. In the letters, Kalekas officially approves reconversion, promising that the people of Nicaea would nevertheless obtain salvation if they repented and returned to Christianity. If out of fear of punishment, they wanted to live as Christians by themselves or in secrecy as crypto-Christians, they could do so and obtain salvation anyway. Here the patriarch is apparently referring to apostates. See Jean Darrouzès, *RegPatr* 5, nos. 2198, 2200. For a letter of the same patriarch to the clergy and to the people of Nicaea encouraging them to hold to their faith, see Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam*, 614–616. Also see Johannes Pahlitzsch, "Greek Orthodox Communities of Nicaea and Ephesus under Turkish Rule in the 14th Century: A New Reading of Old Sources," in Peacock, De Nicola, and Yıldız, *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, 147–164.

> were possible, therefore, it would have been my duty to walk everywhere on earth through the cities and countries and to teach there the Word of God. I would have had to do so unfailingly, since this is my duty. However, since it is beyond the possibility of one weak and mightless man to walk around the entire inhabited earth, Our Humility chooses the best among men, the most eminent in virtue, establishes and ordains them as pastors, teachers, and high priests, and sends them to the ends of the universe … so that each one, in the country and place that was appointed for him, enjoys territorial rights, an episcopal chair, and all the rights of Our Humility.[90]

Philotheos, in his life of the hesychast saint Sabas the Fool, clearly attributes a positive value to this universal Christian mission, which aims to present the Truth to the heretics and the infidels. Sabas the Fool was almost martyred by the Catholic clergy in Cyprus and excited the admiration of the Egyptian sultan, who almost converted because of him.[91] Philotheos interpreted Palamas's captivity by the Ottomans as a divine plan for the evangelization of the infidels.[92] Palamas himself also interpreted his captivity as God's providence—as a punishment for his sins, but also as part of God's plan to show the "barbarians" the truth about Jesus Christ so they would have no excuse at the Last Judgement for not knowing about the true religion.[93] His dialogue and conversation with the Muslims of every social class can well be interpreted in this respect.

John Kantakouzenos, a staunch supporter of Palamas' theology, similarly draws a portrait of the ideal, new carrier of the universal Christian mission, but in the form of the monk who glorifies God through the demonstration of the

90 For citation and English translation, see, Meyendorff, "Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century," 160–161.

91 Anthony Kaldellis cites the example of Sabas the Fool as evidence for the argument that the Palamite establishment presented itself as able to make deals with the Turks while holding little truck with the Latins. Anthony Kaldellis, *Ethnography after Antiquity: Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature* (Philadelphia 2013), 156. On Saint Sabas the Fool (Saint Sabas the Younger of Vatopedi) (*BHG* 1606) in general, see Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, "La terre sainte au XIVe siècle: La Vie de Sabas de Vatopedi par Philothée Kokkinos," in *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l'Antiquité et le Moyen Âge: mélanges offerts à Pierre Maraval*, ed. Béatrice Caseau, Jean-Claude Cheynet, and Vincent Déroche (Paris 2006), 121–133.

92 Philotheos, "Enkomion," *PG* 151:626A.

93 Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas*, 157–162. For Palamas's own interpretation of his captivity, see Phillipides-Braat, "La captivité de Palamas," 138, 197–198.

true faith.[94] Yet apart from the monk, the mystical eschatology of Palamas may have also played a role in increasing interest in the new martyrs. In the hesychast doctrine, the end of the world is not primarily a material collective end; rather, it is an individual, spiritual event.[95] Palamas, while explaining how it was possible for the hesychasts to have a mystical experience of the transfigured world of the Second Coming of Christ during their lifetime, also suggested to the non-monastic Christian community other means for realizing such an experience, among them martyrdom.[96]

The martyrion on Theodore the Younger points to the patriarch of Constantinople as the seat of Truth and advice. It emphasizes the missionary role of both the patriarch and of the martyr Theodore in infidel lands. As the martyrion on Theodore states, to the astonishment of the people in Melagina, a miracle was produced and an abundant light streamed from Theodore's tomb at night:[97]

> This is how God honored the ones who do not pay attention to the terrestrial splendors. In this way, divine splendors become the reason of pride and a halo for the believers; for the ones caught by the shame of the wandering life, the divine splendors reveal their lies and permanently animate their conscience. The divine splendors also become a permanent exhortation for those who wish to come to the Truth but hesitate and adjourn with indifference and remain seduced by the things of the present.

Theodore's martyrdom, in the eyes of his author, was part of the divine plan to show the Truth to the barbarians and Christian apostates. As for Theodore,

94 See Guran, "Eschatology and Political Theory," 80–81. Kantakouzenos presents the portrait in a collection of four polemical works: against those who oppose Palamas's theology, against the Latins, against the Muslims, and against the Jews.

95 Guran, "Eschatology and Political Theory," 85.

96 Ibid., 78; Petre Guran, "L'eschatologie de Palamas entre théologie et politique," *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* 5 (2006): 318.

97 Theodore the Younger (*BHG* 2431), 219: "θεὸς δὲ ἄνωθεν τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτίκα δοξάζει θεράποντα σημείοις θαυμάτων πολλοῖς καὶ φωτὸς παρουσίᾳ. ὁ γὰρ ἱερὸς οἶκος, ὃς τὰ μαρτυρικὰ κατεπιστεύθη λείψανα, φῶς οἷον ἐκλάμπων συχνὰς ἑωρᾶτο νύκτας, ὥστε τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν βλέποντας πρὶν γνῶναι τὸ θαῦμα καταπίμπρασθαι νομίζειν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ φαινομένου θεωρίαν τὸν πλησίον ἕκαστος διηρέθιζεν. Οὕτω θεὸς τιμᾶν οἶδε τοὺς δι᾽αὐτὸν γηίνας παρορῶντας λαμπρότητας. Οὕτω τοῖς μὲν εὐσεβέσι τὰ θεῖα καύχημα γίνεται καὶ στέφανος δόξης, τοῖς κατειλημμένοις δὲ τῇ πλάνῃ αἰσχύνη καὶ ὄνειδος τῆς οἰκείας ἀπάτης τοῦ τε συνειδότος κατηγόρημα μόνιμον, ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ μεγίστη παράκλησις τῶν βουλομένων ἥκειν μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὀκνούντων δὲ καὶ ἀναβαλλομένων ῥαθυμίᾳ φύσεως ἢ δελεασμῷ τῶν παρόντων."

God had honored and glorified him with the crown of martyrdom. The witness of the martyrs in infidel, barbarian, or heretic lands was simultaneously an individual event leading one to God and a positive outcome of the efforts of the Palamist monks, including those on the patriarchal throne, who emphasized their role as the leaders of Orthodox Christians and were responsible for the evangelization of the infidels and the revelation of the Orthodox Christian faith outside the political borders of the empire.

2.4.2 Three Martyrs of Vilnius (m. 1347) (*BHG* 2035)

Around the time of Theodore the Younger's martyrdom, a priest called Nestor converted three young men—Kruglets, Nezhil, and Kumets—to Christianity. The three, all officials at the court of the pagan Lithuanian prince Olgerd (Algirdas) (grand duke of Lithuania between 1345–1377), were baptized Anthony, John, and Eustathios, respectively.[98] Anthony and John, who were brothers, refused to shave or eat meat during Lent. They were jailed, and a year later, condemned to death by hanging. Eustathios, when he refused to shave or eat meat on a Friday, the day of the Nativity fast, was tortured and executed by hanging around 1347.

Anthony, John, and Eusthatios were martyred because they had insisted on publicly expressing their loyalty to the Orthodox faith.[99] The three martyrs of Vilnius, also known as the three Lithuanian martyrs, is the most frequently cited martyrdom to illustrate how hesychasm as a broad religious and political movement struggled for a common set of values and promoted political and cultural priorities inherited from Byzantium in the Orthodox world. It also demonstrates how the promotion of the cult of these martyrs by the hesychast patriarchs of Constantinople reflected the movement's political ideology, spiritual priorities, and ecclesiastical concerns.[100]

The period during which the three martyrs of Vilnius were martyred was a time when the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Olgerd was in a state of war and political competition with the Orthodox grand prince of Moscow, Semen Ivanovich (r. 1341–1352), who promoted himself as the protector of the Orthodox Christians and had succeeded in establishing the seat of the Orthodox metropolitan in Moscow. Medieval Lithuania had a large pagan Baltic population. The country began to include larger numbers of Slavic Orthodox believers

98 Three Martyrs of Vilnius (*BHG* 2035).

99 Meyendorff, "The Three Lithuanian Martyrs," 186.

100 Meyendorff, "Is 'Hesychasm' the Right Word"; idem, "The Three Lithuanian Martyrs"; idem, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: The Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century* (Crestwood 1989); Baronas, "Byzantium and Lithuania."

from the time of Grand Duke Olgerd due to the rapid expansion of Lithuania into western Rus.[101] Olgerd of Lithuania remained a pagan for most of his reign, but he ruled over vast territories populated by an Orthodox Christian majority and had two successive Orthodox Christian wives and had Orthodox children. There is a possibility that before his death, Olgerd was baptized.

Olgerd had been involved all his life in the ecclesiastical affairs of the metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia and proclaimed himself the leader of Russia through attempts to control the powerful Orthodox Church within his realm. In 1354/55, he had even managed to obtain from the Patriarchate of Constantinople the consecration of a separate metropolitan for those parts of Russia that had fallen under Lithuanian control. In this respect, of particular interest are the reasons behind the promotion of the cult of the three Lithuanian martyrs by the hesychast patriarchs of Constantinople beginning in 1374.[102] One reason is the competition between Lithuania and Moscow for the spiritual inheritance of Kievan Rus and the role that Byzantium played in related events.[103]

After the death of Kallistos I, Philotheos Kokkinos resumed leadership of the patriarchate in 1364. He supported Alexis, metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia (1354–1378), who resided in Moscow.[104] Philotheos excommunicated the Russian princes who sided with Olgerd in his war against Moscow. In 1370, with Olgerd formally protesting to Constantinople about unfair treatment by Alexis, Philotheos ordered the metropolitan to respect Olgerd and to deal with him as he did with the other princes.[105] Knowing that all the children of the Lithuanian grand prince had already embraced Orthodox Christianity, Philotheos possibly hoped that Olgerd would convert as well.

In 1373, an envoy of Philotheos, the Bulgarian monk Cyprian, visited Lithuania and reached an understanding with Olgerd on the future of the church in the Lithuanian realm.[106] Philotheos made Cyprian metropolitan of Kiev, Russia, and Lithuania (1375–1406) upon his return to Constantinople, to succeed Alexis after his death. The appointment implied endorsement by Constantinople of an ecclesiastical and political alliance between Moscow and Lithuania, which alone could secure unity of the metropolitan of Kiev

101 Baronas, "The Three Martyrs of Vilnius," 83.

102 On the historicity of the martyrdom and the possible reasons for their execution by Grand Duke Olgerd, see Meyendorff, "The Three Lithuanian Martyrs"; Baronas, "The Three Martyrs of Vilnius," 92–109, 113–116.

103 The argument here basically follows that of John Meyendorff, "The Three Lithuanian Martyrs," 179–180 and 187–196.

104 On Alexis, see *PLP* 613.

105 Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 288.

106 On Cyprian / Kiprian, see *PLP* 13925.

under Byzantium's administrative and canonical control and assure the fair treatment of the Orthodox population not only in Muscovy, but also in Lithuania. The relics of the three martyrs of Vilnius were transferred to Hagia Sophia Church in Constantinople at this time, in 1374, under the auspices of Philotheos. The reception of the relics by Philotheos reflected the goals of Byzantine ecclesiastical diplomacy around 1370 to confirm and to secure the future of the Byzantine Orthodox Church in Lithuania.

In 1386 Olgerd's son Jagiello married the Polish queen Jadwiga (d. 1399) and converted to Roman Catholicism. Under this new political and religious constellation, the cult of the three martyrs of Vilnius remained a symbol of the permanence of the Orthodox Church on Lithuanian territory. The Byzantine church could also use it as a reminder to the Muscovites that the interests of Orthodoxy were not identical to those of the Muscovite monarchy, that there existed a broader and potentially universal Byzantine Christian commonwealth that also included an Orthodox population within the Polish-Lithuanian state. The production of the Greek martyrion on the Lithuanian saints overlapped a period of political rapprochement between Moscow and Lithuania. It was written by a patriarchal official, Balsamon, around the time that Grand Prince Basil Dmitrievich of Moscow (r. 1389–1425) married Sophia, daughter of Grand Prince Vitovt (Vytautas) of Lithuania (r. 1392–1430), in 1391.[107] The marriage was a diplomatic triumph for Cyprian and resulted in peace between Moscow and Lithuania, and thus the ability of the church to preserve its unity and centralized administration in all of Russia. One should also remember that the patriarch of Constantinople Anthony IV (1389–1390, 1391–1397), under whom the Greek martyrion was composed, was a staunch supporter of Metropolitan Cyprian. As John Meyendorff has noted, the very existence of a Greek martyrion on these Lithuanian saints illustrates a more universalistic view, which the hesychast patriarchs propagated.[108]

2.4.3 Anthimos, Metropolitan of Athens (m. 1371) (*BHG* 2029)

Similar to the case of the three martyrs of Vilnius, the composition of the martyrion on Anthimos, the metropolitan of Athens, and the promotion of his cult by Neilos Kerameus, the patriarch of Constantinople, were connected to

107 On Balsamon, see *PLP* 2123.

108 Meyendorff, "The Three Lithuanian Martyrs," 33n46. Baronas, "Byzantium and Lithuania," 309–315, referring to the protective quality of relics mentioned in the Greek martyrion, argues that the composing of the texts could be related to the siege of Constantinople by Bayezid I between 1394 and 1402 and the assistance that the Byzantines were hoping to receive from the Lithuanians, as they were known to be fierce warriors.

political concerns as well as to the universal claims of the hesychast patriarchs.[109] According to the martyrion, the Cretans sent ambassadors to the patriarch in Constantinople, hoping that the patriarch would not disregard them as an unsupervised local flock.[110] Upon their request, the patriarch decided to send Anthimos, the metropolitan of Athens, to Crete.

Upon his arrival, Anthimos provided guidance to the Cretans and was arrested for allegedly stirring them up against their Venetian rulers and causing discord in the faith. Local authorities imprisoned him in a pit. The Latin archbishop of Crete tried to persuade Anthimos to agree with Latin doctrines, especially with the filioque, and asked him to accept the primacy of the Roman Catholic Church. Anthimos refused and remained imprisoned two more years, after which he was put on trial. Again refusing to alter his views, he was returned to the pit, where he died. The Venetians buried his corpse in an unmarked grave so the Orthodox could not find it.

A patriarchal register dating from the time of Philotheos Kokkinos supports the narrative on the dispatching of the metropolitan of Athens, Anthimos, to the seat of Crete. According to Jean Darrouzès, Anthimos had been ordained as metropolitan of Athens at the beginning of Philotheos' tenure as patriarch in 1364, and in 1365 the church assigned him Crete as a supplement (*epidosis*).[111] He arrived on the island sometime before May 1366.[112] The text alludes to some Orthodox Christians rebeling against the Venetians on Crete at the time. Anthimos arrived in the aftermath of the suppression of a rebellion that started in 1363. After the establishment of Venetian rule in Crete in the first decade after the Fourth Crusade, in 1204, the island witnessed numerous uprisings, the majority of them incited by local archontes, who in conjunction with the Church, exercised a considerable influence over the indigenous population.[113]

109 On the Patriarch of Constantinople, Neilos Kerameus, see *PLP* 11648.

110 Anthimos, metropolitan of Athens (*BHG* 2029).

111 Darrouzès, *RegPatr* 5, no. 2463.

112 Ibid., no. 2507.

113 For the Venetian rule in Crete, see Freddy Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge: le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien* (*XIIe–XVe siècles*) (Paris 1959); David Jacoby, "La colonisation militaire vénitienne de la Crète au XIIIe siècle: une nouvelle approche," in *Le partage du monde: échanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale,* ed. Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (Paris 1998), 297–298; Chyrssa Maltezou, "The Historical and Social Context," in *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, ed. David Holton (Cambridge 1991), 17–48; Charalambos Gasparis, "The Period of Venetian Rule on Crete: Breaks and Continuties during the Thirteenth Century," in *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and Its Consequences*, ed. Angeliki Laiou (Paris 2005), 233–246.

The St. Titus uprising (1363/64) was the most alarming for Venice, as some of the Venetians on the island joined in the uprising.[114]

In early April 1364, the Venetian army arrived on Crete and gained control over the rebellion, and to eliminate the possibility of another revolt, Venice's representatives began imposing order. Latin leadership of the revolt had collapsed, but the "Greek" peasantry and sections of the "Greek" nobility continued to stage violent attacks on government forces and feudatories. Under the leadership of Johannes Kalergi, a member of a prominent "Greek" noble family, they continued their campaign to expel the Venetians. Attacking towns all over the western part of the island, Kalergi raised the banner of the Byzantine emperor of Constantinople and fought for the Orthodox faith and for freedom from Latin rule. The doge asked the pope to declare the war against the Cretan rebels a crusade.[115] The Venetian forces managed to ran the core of the remaining rebels to ground by 1368.[116]

The Venetian government had always been suspicious of Byzantine involvement on the island through the influence of the Byzantine church. The Eastern rite embodied a dangerous tie to the Byzantine Empire and represented a spiritual cause for rebellion and a unifying force for local resistance against the Venetian overlords. In 1228, with the support of the Nicene emperor John III Vatatzes, Nicene troops headed by the local Cretan archontic families rebelled in an attempt to unite Crete with the Empire of Nicaea. After the reconquest of

114 Giorgio Fedalto, "Le sénat venitien et les églises chrétiennes de Crète au XIVe siècle," in *Pepragmena tou G' Diethnous Kretologikou Synedriou*, vol. 2 (Athens 1973), 94–101, esp. 100–101; Sally McKee, "The Revolt of St. Tito in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete: A Reassessment," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9 (1995): 178–185. In spite of the fundamental political and theological conflicts and differing social, economic, and judicial situations of the indigenous groups on Venetian Crete, scholars argue about joint and even coordinated Latin and Orthodox religious devotions and shared spaces in Venetian Crete. See Sally McKee, "Speaking for Others: Imposing Solidarities on the Past: The Case of Venetian Crete," in *Medieval Cultures in Contact*, ed. Richard F. Gyug (New York 2003), 39–58; Margit Mersch, "Churches as 'Shared Spaces' of Latin and Orthodox Christians in the Eastern Mediterranean (14th–15th Cent.)," in *Union in Separation: Trading Diasporas in the Eastern Mediterranean (1200–1700)*, ed. Georg Christ et al. (Rome 2014), 498–524. On relations between Greeks and Venetians on Crete in the fourteenth century on a variety of levels, for example, linguistic exchange, mixed marriages, and rapprochement regarding religious rites, see Angeliki Laiou, "Observations on the Results of the Fourth Crusade: Greeks and Latins in Port and Market," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 12 (1984): 47–60, esp. 54. For a critical approach on the idea of the fusion Greeks and Latins in the Venetian Crete, see Dimitris Tsougarakis, "Venetian Crete and the Myth of Novel Ideas," *Thesaurismata* 31 (2001): 43–64.

115 Setton, "Pierre Thomas and Peter I of Cyprus," 224–257.

116 McKee, "The Revolt of St. Tito," 185.

Constantinople in 1261, emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos encouraged the Cretans to rebel and sent agents to the island with the aim of detaching it from Venetian rule. Further rebellion broke out during 1272/73 in which a number of clergy took part and lasted until 1278. The defeated leaders of the uprising sought exile in Constantinople, where the emperor received them.[117]

To prevent such revolts, the Venetian republic adopted policies prohibiting contact between the "Greek" clergy of Crete and the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Orthodox Church of Crete was placed under the jurisdiction of the Latin archbishop residing in Candia. "Greek" bishops, who had close ties with Constantinople and great influence with the people, were expelled from the island, and the number of "Greek" priests was strictly regulated.[118] In 1360 a decision of the duke of Crete forbade those who wanted to be ordained to leave Crete without special permission and also banned the entry into Crete of priests and monks from other "Greek" lands. Only itinerant priests were allowed to stay on Crete, and only for a short period of time.[119]

Although some members of prominent Cretan "Greek" families declared their fealty to the Byzantine emperor in the revolt of 1363 and proclaimed themselves champions of Orthodoxy against Latin Catholicism, as mentioned in the case of the martyrdom of Theodore the Younger, the Byzantine emperor John V Palaiologos had already signed a chrysobull in 1355 binding him to secure the obedience of the Byzantine church to the Holy See in return for military aid against the Turks. He also promised to promote Latin culture, especially the Latin language, by establishing three Latin colleges, where he would encourage the sons of Byzantine notables to study.[120] In 1369 John V formally converted to Roman Catholicism in exchange for Western military aid against the Ottoman advance.[121] Therefore, it was up to the patriarch of Constantinople to strengthen the faith of Orthodox Cretans and to boost their morale, to offer spiritual

117 Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, vol. 3, Book 9.8, 235; Maltezou, "The Historical and Social Context," 23–24.

118 On the Orthodox priests under Venetian rule and their ordination, see Freddy Thiriet, "La situation religieuse en Crète au début du XVe siècle," *B* 36 (1966): 205–206.

119 Maltezou, "The Historical and Social Context," 21–28.

120 Setton, "Pierre Thomas and Peter I of Cyprus," 225.

121 Yet John never explicitly denied Byzantine ideological positions, and even his formal conversion to Roman Catholicism did not cause much commotion by way of scandal, rebellion, or abhorrence as previously, during the time of Michael VIII after the Council of Lyon in 1274 when he imposed union of churches. Philotheos responded to John's conversion by taking measures against the clergy suspected of Latinism. He made no official note of the emperor renouncing Orthodoxy. This response by Philotheos could well be related to his understanding of relations between the emperor and the patriarch. That is, the patriarch was not to intervene in the choices that the emperor made in the political

advice through bishops and exarchs sent to the island. Hence Philotheos sent Anthimos to Crete in 1366. The patriarch Neilos Kerameus, however, wrote the martyrion on Anthimos. Why?

As patriarch, Neilos sent monk Joseph Bryennios (d. before 1438, probably 1430/1), fervent supporter of Orthodoxy, to Crete in 1382, who stayed there until 1402, as a preacher and missionary.[122] Bryennios would not be thrown into a pit, but he would be banished from the island by Venetian authorities. The strict measures imposed by Venice on the Orthodox clergy during that period indicate that the Venetians were determined not to allow the Patriarchate of Constantinople to intervene in the ecclesiastical affairs of Crete, because such interference would also have political circumstances.[123] Neilos's sermon on Anthimos in referring to events post-1363—citing the restrictions imposed on the Orthodox church, the rebellion, the clashes among Cretans, and their request for help from Constantinople—reinforces the position of the patriarch in Constantinople as the protector of Orthodox Cretans. Accordingly, the patriarch in Constantinople was the one who taught the Orthodox dogma, and led, judged, and administered the Orthodox Christians through his appointees. The promotion of the cult of the new martyr Anthimos is presented as proof of the policy and the influence of the patriarchs in Constantinople over Orthodox Cretans.

The famous letter of another hesychast patriarch, Anthony IV, to the grand prince Basil Dmitrievich of Moscow in 1393 is indicative of how the hesychast patriarchs proclaimed themselves the universal instructors of all Christians. Antony's letter illustrates how it was no longer possible to talk about a temporal universal empire, but also how the authority of the ecumenical patriarch did not depend on the territories of the empire. This was why the patriarch could address with authority a ruler outside the borders of the empire. Anthony, having placed the patriarch in this preeminent position, affirmed that the sacrality of the temporal authority of the emperor derived from the patriarch, and its legitimacy depended on the church.[124] The new martyrs, Orthodox Christians living under Latin and Muslim rule, and newly converted

affairs, and the emperor should not interfere in church affairs. See Congourdeau, "Deux patriarches palamites en rivalité," 43, 46; Darrouzès, *RegPatr*. 5, nos. 2555, 2572.

122 For Joseph Bryennios, see *PLP* 3257.

123 Maltezou, "The Historical and Social Context," 21–28.

124 Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, "L'empereur et le patriarche dans l'Empire byzantin," *Istina* 50/1 (2005): 8–21; Petre Guran, "Frontières géographiques et liturgiques dans la lettre d'Antoine IV au grand prince de Moscou," in *Le Patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople et Byzance hors-frontières* (*1204–1586*), ed. Marie-Hélène Blanchet, Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, and Dan Ioan Mureşan (Paris 2014), 81–98.

pagans in the pagan north outside the borders of the Byzantine Empire were the symbols of the victorious efforts of the hesychast patriarchs to construct an Orthodox community, a majority of whose members were now outside the borders of the empire. Through the transfer of the relics of the new saints to Constantinople, the dispatch of advice from Constantinople, and promotion of the cults of the new martyrs by Constantinople, the hesychast patriarchs emphasized the centrality of Constantinople.

2.5 *Eve of the Council of Ferrara–Florence (1437–1439)*

2.5.1 George of Adrianople (m. 1437) (*BHG* 2160)

In 1437 George, a thirty-year-old man from Sofia, traveled to Adrianople (Edirne) for reasons unknown to the author of his narrative.[125] From his attire, one could tell that he was a soldier. As his author laments, Adrianople had once been a city full of Christians, but by the time George arrived, it was full of *Agarenoi*, i.e., Muslims. George went to a bow maker's shop to have his bow fixed, and while chatting, the bow maker remarked that Christ was an ordinary man. George lost his temper and blasphemed Muhammad, saying he could not even be counted among the rank of dogs. The crowd in the bazaar overheard this, beat George, and brought him before a hegemon.

When questioned by the hegemon, George accepted and repeated what he had been told in the bazaar. The hegemon instructed him to convert to Islam, but he refused. He then told the crowd to take George to prison, while he examined his case. As George sat in prison, people claiming to have descended from Muhammad and other respected, educated Muslims called *tasimanioi*,[126] went to the chief hegemon, who acted in the name of the emir, the Ottoman sultan, when the latter was away. They told him about the events and asked him to punish George. The chief hegemon, wanting to question George, assigned soldiers to bring him from the prison, telling them to take care that the angry crowd not hurt him.

George repeated to the chief hegemon what he had said previously. The hegemon sentenced him to whipping. The tasimanioi objected to the verdict, and the hegemon, fearful of their reaction, handed George over to them so they would judge him according to their law. Consequently George was sentenced

125 George of Andrinople (*BHG* 2160).

126 The tasimanioi are the *danishmend*s (danişmends), men learned in Islamic law or students of higher Muslim education. The name of Ahmed Danişmend, the hero of the *Danişmendname*, derives from his being considered to have received a higher education. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 2, 300; Moravcsik does not explicitly reference the text on George of Adrianople, but Palamas's text on his captivity, where the same term appears with a slightly different spelling.

to death by fire. As the martyr burned, the people threw animals into the flames to deprive the Christians the relics of the saint. At the end of George's narrative, the author dates the event to March 26, 1437. He then prays for the emperor, John VIII Palaiologos (r. 1425–1448), so that he might deal with the current difficulties and vanquish his enemies. The author also asks God to protect Patriarch Joseph II (1416–1439). Finally, he asks the martyr George, whom he believes to be in the Kingdom of Heaven with God, to beg God on his behalf for the forgiveness of his sins.

George's narrative is set in Ottoman lands, in Adrianople, the hometown of Theodore the Younger. Yet Adrianople, some eighty years after the abduction of Theodore the Younger, is now the capital of the Ottoman state and called as Edirne by the Ottomans. Sofia, from which George hails, had been under Ottoman rule since 1382. The hero of this martyrdom happened to be in Edirne, with his military uniform and weapons at the beginning of the Ottoman military campaign season. George, like Theodore, was a soldier, though not a Muslim convert, but a Christian soldier fighting in the Ottoman army. It is well known that in the early fifteenth century, Christians served in the Ottoman army in the Balkans. Contemporary sources report the presence of Christian *sipahi*s (cavalrymen), *voynuk*s (Slav warriors in Ottoman service), and *martolos* (soldiers serving on the borders and in the fortresses) among the Ottoman forces.[127] According to a sixteenth-century *kanunname* (code of laws), Christian soldiers of the Ottoman army had to be present in the Ottoman capital on March 22, at the beginning of the military campaign season.[128] If one assumes

127 Machiel Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period: A Sketch of the Economic, Juridicial and Artistic Preconditions of Bulgarian Post-Byzantine Art and Its Place in the Development of the Art of the Christian Balkans, 1360/70–1700* (Maastricht 1985), 14; Yavuz Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar* (Ankara 1986); Halil İnalcık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar* (Ankara 1995), 137–184; For the presence of Christian "tımar" holders from other parts of the Balkans in the Ottoman army, also see idem. "Timariotes chrétiens en Albanie au XVe siècle d'après un registre de timars ottoman." *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchives* 4 (1952): 118–138; Melek Delilbaşı, "Christian Sipahis in the Tırhala Taxation Registers (Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries)," in *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete V. A Symposium Held in Rethymno, 10–12 January 2003*, ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos (Rethymno 2005), 87–114. For a detailed bibliography and analysis of the presence of Christians in the auxiliary regiments all the way to the highest commanding posts in the army, see Mariya Kiprovska, "Freocious Invasion or Smooth Incorporation? Integrating the Established Balkan Military System into the Ottoman Army," in *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans: Interpretations and Research Debates*, ed. Oliver Jens Schmitt (Vienna 2016), 83–93.

128 Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, 20.

that the same law applied in the fifteenth century, George was in Edirne on March 26 most probably to report for duty in the Ottoman military.[129]

Unlike the martyria so far analyzed here, in George's narrative, both the Byzantine emperor and the Byzantine patriarch appear in the text, and curiously, the names of Rome and Constantinople are for the first time both referenced, described as the two glorious Christian cities of the Christian world. The time is March 1437, eight months prior to the Byzantine delegation embarking from Constantinople headed for Venice for the Council of Ferrara-Florence.[130] The Byzantines had placed high hopes on the outcome being the union of the churches, which they wanted to achieve through a formal council where the Roman Catholic church and the Byzantine church would express their ideas freely.

The controversy surrounding the union of churches was well before the 1430s. The division between two branches of Christianity began in 1054, and various tentative reconciliations failed. The first attempt was the brutal Latin imposition of a union in 1215 after the fall of Constantinople in 1204 to the forces of the Fourth Crusade. This incident made reconciliation with Rome a delicate and painful matter. At the same time, for the Byzantine emperors, alliance with Rome became a most efficient recourse for obtaining military aid against the empire's enemies. Beginning in the thirteenth century onward, the union of churches, not only in religious but also in political terms, was imposed recurrently on the Byzantine Empire by the Roman Catholic Church.[131]

The martyrdom of Niketas the Younger was written immediately after the tumultuous moments following Andronikos II's official denouncement of the union of churches. Michael VIII Palaiologos, Andronikos' father, had concluded the union in 1274 to counter the military danger that Charles of Anjou, the king of Naples and Sicily (1266–1285), posed for the Byzantine Empire. Michael VIII obtained the diplomatic support of the papacy in exchange for certain concessions made to Orthodox dogma, namely filioque and recognition of the

129 On the case of George of Adrianople and an exercise in order to understand its historical context, see Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, "Byzantium, the Union of Churches, Bulgaria and the Ottomans through the Case Study of the Neo-martyr George of Adrianople, 1437 (*BHG* 2160)," in *Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia "St. Kliment Ohridski": Centre de Recherches Slavo-Byzantines "Ivan Dujcev,"* vol. 95, no. 14 (2009): 183–191.

130 The Byzantine delegation embarked for Venice in November 1437, after two years of preparation. It consisted of more than seven hundred members, including thirty church representatives (the patriarch, archbishops, monks, and patriarchal archontes), around thirty laics from the entourage of the Byzantine emperor, and their retinues. Marie-Hélène Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios* (*vers 1400–vers 1472*)*: un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 2008), 253.

131 For a recent study on the union of churches, see Marie-Hélène Blanchet, "La question de l'union des églises (13e–15e S.). Historiographie et perspectives," *REB* 61 (2003): 5–48.

primacy of the papacy. As noted above, John V Palaiologos converted to Catholicism in 1369 in exchange for Western military aid against the Ottoman advance. If the Byzantine emperors were seeing in the union of churches a political means of saving the empire from the advances of its enemies, the Byzantine church insisted on an ecumenical council to formulate a union.

Palamists, including the patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos and the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos, approached the issue of church union in a similar fashion, within the context of universality, and demanded the participation of regional churches in an ecumenical council.[132] Philotheos nourished a strong commitment to the unity of the Orthodox world, and his priorities also included a concern for true union negotiations with Rome.[133] John VI and Philotheos, who opposed the project of alliances between the pope and the Byzantine emperor, did not oppose church union negotiations, provided the union was achieved through a formal council at which both sides could express their views. The popes, however, had rejected the idea of such a council for the union until the victory of Western conciliarism at the Council of Constance (1414–1418).

The Ottoman advance pressured Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos to negotiate a union in exchange for the papacy preaching for a crusade against the Turks.[134] John before his departure for Venice for the council, projected an image of an Orthodox world no longer held together by the person of the Byzantine emperor but around the common faith of Orthodoxy. He claimed that there were many nations, equal in number to those under the Latin Church, professing the ancient faith of the Byzantines. Like the Latins, the Byzantines also had on their occidental and oriental frontiers neighboring nations (τὰ γένη)—the people of Trebizond, Iberians, Circassians, Goths, Russians, Serbians and Vlachs—all faithful to Orthodox dogma.[135] The martyrdom on

132 Meyendorff, "Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century."

133 Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 181; idem, "Projets de concile œcuménique en 1367: un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul," *DOP* 14 (1960): 161. On the ideas of John Kantakouzenos about a union of churches, see Guran, "Jean VI Cantacuzène, l'hésychasme et l'empire," 73–121. On the issue of the ecumenical council to achieve union of churches, see Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, "Nil Cabasilas et les projets de concile œcuménique pour l'union des églises," in *Réduire le schisme? Ecclésiologies et politiques de l'union entre Orient et Occident* (*XIIIe–XVIIIe siècles*), ed. Marie-Hélène Blanchet and Frédéric Gabriel (Paris 2013), 75–82.

134 Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios* (*vers 1400–vers 1472*), 251–256.

135 Sylvester Syropulus, *Les "Mémoires" du grand ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople, Sylvestre Syropoulos, sur le concile de Florence* (*1438–1439*), ed. and trans. Vitalie Laurent (Rome–Paris, 1971), 150–151; Dan Ioan Mureşan, "Introduction," in *Le Patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople et Byzance hors-frontières*, 14–15; idem, "Une histoire de trois

George from Sofia in Ottoman Edirne was written in this atmosphere, in which the Byzantine emperor and the patriarch were perceived as the representatives of the Orthodox world. His martyrdom took place when all the Byzantine parties were hoping for a true negotiation in terms of Christian dogma in return for a military assistance advocated by the papacy.[136]

3 Part 2: Land of Rome, Frontiers, Cities, and Us and Them

3.1 *Land of Rome*

Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the late Byzantine martyrdom narratives were written, the Constantinopolitan city-state was in no position to impose its political authority in Christian Roman oikoumene through military means. Meanwhile, however, Orthodox Christianity held sway beyond the limits of Byzantine temporal, imperial authority. Operating within areas of the broader Christian Roman oikoumene, it functioned as a way to unite and maintain a certain unity over geographical areas then under different non-Christian or "heretic" political rulers.[137]

In late Byzantine martyria, the populations of these provinces once under Byzantine rule are not referred to as Romans but as Christians. The Roman identification is applied to things and the realm under Byzantine imperial political authority. That is, in these texts, Romanness is bound to political, territorial boundaries determined by the limits of imperial authority extending from Constantinople. The actual territorial limits of Byzantine imperial authority are not designated by the geographical terms Rhomania or Romania, but by "land of the Romans" or "things of the Romans" (τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων). It is apparent that for the martyria authors, members of the Byzantine ruling elite, that the Roman politeia existed only within the territorial limits of imperial authority, consisting of the imperial government and its subjects.

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empereurs: aspects des relations de Sigismond de Luxembourg avec Manuel II et Jean VIII Paléologue," in *Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Orthodox World*, ed. Ekaterini Mitsiou et al. (Vienna 2010), 41–101, esp. 99–100.

136 During the Council of Ferrara–Florence, the debate on filioque ended with the acceptance of the Latin dogma. All the members of the Byzantine delegation signed the decree of the union except for Marc of Ephesos. According to Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios*, 254, the real division between the unionist and anti-unionist after the union of churches started after the 1444 Battle of Varna.

137 Ioannis Stouraitis, "Roman Identity in Byzantium," 187; idem, "Just War and Holy War in the Middle Ages: Rethinking Theory through the Byzantine Case-Study," *JÖB* 62 (2012): 264.

In the martyria, the primary identity maintaining bonds within the empire is that of Orthodox Christianity.[138] The territorial boundaries of the Christian Roman oikoumene are extensive and vague in the texts.[139] One can ascertain two territorial attachments that play a crucial role in the identification of the martyrs: patris and the Christian Roman oikoumene. Patris—which is of a local character, e.g., place of birth, family, and ancestral roots—relates to the actual territorial limits of imperial authority. The Christian Roman oikoumene had been under the imperial authority of the Byzantine emperor until falling under infidel or heretic rule. The martyria authors considered areas wherever Orthodox Christian communities, monuments, relics, and memories of Christian saints existed to be part of the Christian Roman oikoumene, guided and protected by the Byzantine emperor or by the patriarch in Constantinople or both.

3.2 *Frontiers: Borders of the Christian Roman Oikoumene*

The martyrdom narratives do not provide information on the geopolitical nature of the frontiers, but hint at the military and economic components of the unstable and dangerous nature of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century frontier zones in western Asia Minor and the Balkans. In the majority of the late Byzantine martyrdoms, which took place under Muslim rule, although the martyrdom itself occurs in a city, the economic and military situations in the frontier zones serve as backdrops of most of the martyrdoms. The primary conflict that leads to martyrdom, of course, involves a religious issue, such as apostasy (Michael of Alexandria, Theodore the Younger) or a quarrel about the nature of Jesus (George of Adrianople). That said, most of the martyrs killed under Muslim rule are soldiers serving in an army of a Muslim political entity. Hence they are warrior saints to a certain degree, but their identity in the martyria remains wholly that of a Christian martyr, not a warrior.[140]

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138 For a similar geopolitical image of the Roman community in earlier centuries, see Ioannis Stouraidis, "Reinventing Roman Ethnicity in High and Late Medieval Byzantium," *Medieval Worlds* 5 (2017): 73–74. On the development and change in the content of Byzantine Romanness during the period of the early Muslim expansion, see Haldon, *The Empire That Would Not Die*, 79–119.

139 For geographic and territorial identity markers in late Byzantine martyria, see Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, "Byzantine Universalism and *Patris*: Geographic Identity Markers in the Late Byzantine *Martyria*," in *Identity and the Other in Byzantium: Papers from the Fourth International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, ed. Koray Durak and Ivana Jevtić (Istanbul 2019), 113–124.

140 On the phenomenon of the Christian warrior saint, which became widespread during the First Crusade, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*

The topos of the warrior saint is also seen in the martyria of the Arab-Byzantine confrontations in the seventh and eighth centuries. The Christian martyrs were Byzantine soldiers or officers, most of whom were imprisoned during expeditions or battles and forced to convert to Islam during their imprisonment after the conquest of an area by Arab armies.[141] The sixty martyrs of Gaza (m. ca. 639) were soldiers executed for their refusal to convert to Islam shortly after the Muslim invasion of Palestine.[142] Theophilus (m. ca.780) was a Byzantine naval commander who died as a prisoner of war after refusing to convert to Islam. The forty-two martyrs of Amorion (m. 845) were a group of high-ranking Byzantine officials taken as prisoners of war during the Abbasid sac of Amorion in 838. They were martyred after they refused to convert to Islam.[143]

Yet, with the exception of soldiers from Philadelphia, the warrior saints of the late Byzantine period are not Byzantine soldiers who became prisoners of war as in the martyria on the Byzantine warrior saints of the earlier Arab conquests. Rather, they were born citizens of the Byzantine Empire and at a very young age were enslaved on the frontiers and converted to Islam, as in the cases of Michael of Alexandria and Theodore the Younger,[144] or like George of

(Philadelphia 1986), 114–116; Albrecht Noth, *Heiliger Krieg und heiliger Kampf in Islam und Christentum* (Bonn 1966), 95–109.

141 On the neo-martyrs of the Arab conquest, see Christian Sahner, "Old Martyrs, New Martyrs and the Coming of Islam: Writing Hagiography after the Conquests," *Cultures in Motion: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, ed. Adam Izdebski and Damian Jasiński (Cracow 2014), 89–112.

142 For the 60 martyrs of Gaza, see David Woods, "The Sixty Martyrs of Gaza and the Martyrdom of Bishop Sophronius of Jerusalem," *ARAM* 15/1 (2003): 129–150.

143 On the forty-two martyrs of Amorion, see François Halkin, "Hagiologie byzantine: textes inédits publiés en grec et traduits en français," *Subsidia Hagiographica* 71 (1986): 152–169; Alexandre Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 56 (1986): 150–160. Their execution is associated with a story in the *Battalname* in which Seyyid Battal decapitates fourteen infidel lords. See Dedes, *Battalname*, A14, 615–616; Grégoire, "L'épopée byzantine et ses rapports avec l'épopée turque et l'épopée romane," 469.

144 Conversion to Islam was a major concern of the Byzantine church, especially after the second half of the thirteenth century, as the number of apostates increased in considerable numbers with the Turco-Muslim conquest of Asia Minor. The problem of renegadism, whether involving paganism, heresy, or Islam, was not new to the church. The classical ecclesiastical sources that deal with the renegades take into consideration their status before they rejected Christianity, for example, whether they were a child or an adult at the time of conversion, and the gravity of the act by which the renegade manifested his or her denial or rejection of Christianity, that is, for example, whether the renegade participated in the hostile acts of non-Christians against Christians (e.g. raids against Christian territories) or in non-Christian ceremonies (e.g. consummation of sacrificial meat, circumcision, etc.) or simply denied Christ without participating in such

Adrianople, the warrior saint is a Christian soldier who served in the army of a Muslim political entity.

Slavery and the slave trade, integral military and economic elements of the frontiers, are the major factors behind the loss of one's identity, as they are followed by conversion to Islam and then integration into the Muslim armies.[145] Enslavement and slavery were not only experienced by the Byzantines. An anecdote from the vita of a Şeyh Bedreddin (d. 1416), a Sufi shaykh and scholar (see Chapter 3), reveals how slavery was a major concern for various populations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Asia Minor and the Balkans. In this vita, a certain Kara Haydar Musa is enslaved by the Catalan Grand Company, but manages to escape. Musa arrives at Izmir and becomes a disciple of Bedreddin.[146]

In the case of George of Adrianople, although he remained a Christian, his service in the Ottoman army relates to another economic reality: Christian soldiers of the Balkans had the right to keep their estates in the conquered lands in return for their integration into the Ottoman army.[147] The warrior saint

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acts. The renegades situation at the time of conversion were also considered. For example, did the person deny Christ under serious threat to his or her life or the loss of goods or property or of being chased out of his home or did the person convert voluntarily? The path prescribed and penitence imposed on the renegade in the process of returning to Christianity depended on these conditions. On this issue, see Nicolas Oikonomides, "La brébis égarée et retrouvée: l'apostat et son retour," *Religiöse Devianz: Untersuchungen zu sozialen, rechtlichen und theologischen Reaktionen auf religiöse Abweichung im westlichen und östlichen Mittelalter*, ed. Dieter Simon (Frankfurt am Main 1990), 143–157.

145 On slaves and slavery in Byzantium and in the Mediterranean world, see Rotman Youval, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Cambridge, MA, 2009). On the slave trade between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries in the eastern Mediterranean, see Elizabeth Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300–1405)* (Venice 1983); Andrew Ehrenkreutz, "Strategic Implications of the Slave Trade between Genoa and Mamluk Egypt in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century," in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–900: Studies in Economic and Social History*, ed. Abraham L. Udovitch (Princeton 1981), 335–345; Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, "Liquid Frontiers: A Relational Analysis of Maritime Asia Minor as a Religious Contact Zone in the Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries," in Peacock, De Nicola, and Yıldız, *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, 132–145.

146 Gölpınarlı and Sungurbey, *Şeyh Bedreddin Menakıbı*, 107.

147 On the impact of Ottoman conquest on land ownership and possession in Byzantine Macedonia, see Kostis Smyrlis, "The First Ottoman Occupation of Macedonia (ca. 1383–ca. 1403): Some Remarks on Land Ownership, Property Transactions and Justice," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1000–1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani, and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden 2008), 327–348; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*; Raúl Estangüi Gómez, *Byzance face aux Ottomans (milieu XIVe–milieu XVe siècle): exercice du pouvoir et contrôle du territoire au temps des derniers Paléologues* (Paris 2014).

serving in Muslim armies, either as a slave or as a Christian soldier, a situation found in martyria by different authors from different periods, reflects the anguish and despair of the Byzantine authors about the unstable situation in western Anatolia and the Balkans, which were the epitome of a frontier zone at the beginning of the fourteenth century, replete with raids and military actions by Turkish Muslim groups as well as Catalan Company and Byzantines fighting each other for power sometimes in alliance with Turkish Muslims.[148]

Displacement and movement also feature in the martyrdoms under Latin rule. The thirteen martyrs of Cyprus are originally from Kalon Oros, but for unspecified reasons, they move to Cyprus, which is under Lusignan domination. Their departure from Kalon Oros, however, appears to take place after Alaeddin Keykubad's conquest of the city in 1221. They walk around Cyprus looking for a peaceful place to practice hesychia. Their peace and quiet is then breached by the intrusion of a Dominican friar. The frontier in this martyrion is the one between Latin and Orthodox dogmas. Similarly, in the martyrion on Anthimos, the metropolitan of Athens, Anthimos experiences displacement to arrive on Crete, which is under Venetian domination. The frontier between him and the island's political rulers is also a matter of theology.

3.3 *Cities*

Apart from the frontiers, the cities, especially the marketplaces in Muslim-ruled cities, were the site of varied encounters and interactions. On this potentially dangerous territory, one might encounter the "other," and in doing so, bring "injury" upon the "self." To wit, Niketas the Younger quarreled with Muslims during Ramadan in a marketplace in Nyssa-Cappadocia; Michael of Alexandria was caught in a marketplace near the port of Alexandria while attempting to leave for Constantinople on an imperial Byzantine vessel; and George of Adrianople had a polemical discussion over the nature of Jesus in a marketplace in Edirne with a bow repairer. In their martyria, average Muslims

148 With respect to the fourteenth-century Byzantine and Turkish Muslim borderlands, scholars in general have focused on the Byzantine-Ottoman frontier. See Keith R. Hopwood, "Peoples, Territories and States: The Formation of the Begliks of Pre-Ottoman Turkey," in *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Caesar E. Farah (Kirksville, Mo, 1993), 129–138; idem, "Nomads or Bandits?"; idem, "The Byzantine-Turkish Frontier c. 1250–1300," in *Acta Viennensia Ottomanica: Akten des 13. CIEPO–Symposiums*, ed. Markus Köhbach, Gisela Procházka-Eisl, and Claudia Römer (Vienna 1999), 153–161; idem, "Low-level Diplomacy between Byzantines and Ottoman Turks: The Case of Bithynia," in *Byzantine Diplomacy*, ed. Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (Aldershot 1992), 151–155; idem, "Osman, Bithynia and the Source," *Archív Orientální Supplementa* 8 (1998): 155–164.

express hostility in a marketplace while monitoring the actions of non-Muslim individuals. They then inform local authorities, whose decisions lead to martyrdom.

Similar social pressure from the Muslim community in city settings can also be gleaned from Gregory Palamas's letters during his captivity in the city of Nicaea while under the rule of the Ottomans. The letters hint at how the Muslim community essentially supervises non-Muslims in public places. As mentioned in relation to the martyrdom of Theodore the Younger, there were Christians and monks practicing their religion in churches and monasteries in Nicaea, and there seemed to be no pressure on Christians to renounce their faith. The entourage of Sultan Orhan included Christians in high positions. Palamas even had the opportunity to talk about Christian doctrine with a group of Muslims who had converted from Judaism.

Yet during his dialogue with the tasiman (danişmend) and the Muslim population in Nicaea at the city gate, the Christians warned Palamas to abandon his discourse, as they felt the anger of the Muslim population rising.[149] The pressure and supervision of the Muslim community over non-Muslims may well be why Theodore the Younger, upon his decision to convert to Christianity, chose to live in a rural area, in the mountains as a shepherd. It allowed him to lead a Christian life and to gain courage for his future martyrdom. Theodore was well aware that when he would announce his decision to reconvert to Christianity in front of the Muslims, as the wise man and the patriarch had suggested, it would most certainly lead to his martyrdom. Yet, the mark of his conversion, his circumcision, did not leave him peaceful even in a rural setting, and his friend who remarked on this when they swam naked denounced him to Muslim authorities.

3.4 *Us*

Late Byzantine martyrdom narratives, as noted, written primarily by Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical and civil elites from the 1230s until the first half of the fifteenth century, have some common traits in terms of defining their heroes as representing "us" (the Byzantines) versus the "others" (Muslim, Latin, and pagan Lithuanian persecutors). In the narratives, Christian identity is the common denominator of self-definition for all the martyrs.[150] Not all the Christians in the texts, however, are identified as Christians. The Latins are depicted as tyrannizing piety, destroying Orthodox dogmas, and making local Orthodox

149 Phillipides-Braat, "La captivité de Palamas," 161.

150 Bryer, "The Late Byzantine Identity," observed that in the late Byzantine period, the common denominator in self-definition was Christian.

Christians suffer.[151] They are heretics, having deviated from the Orthodox faith, and are forcing Orthodox Christians to accept Latin views on azyme and filioque, or they are trying to persuade them that the "Catholic Church" and the Orthodox oikoumene are the same, and that the Roman Catholic Church is the authority over all Christians.[152]

In the martyrion on the three martyrs of Vilnius, the conversion of the three Lithuanian officials from paganism to Orthodox Christianity is defined as their turning away from impiety and being filled with piety.[153] These officials in the court of Olgerd, Duke of Lithuania, after having converted to Orthodox Christianity, also changed their fire worshipping, pagan customs (ἔθος τῷ πυρσολάτρῃ) and stopped cutting their hair and shaving their beards.[154] Olgerd considered these new habits "foreign and strange" (ξένης καὶ ἀλλοτρίου).[155] After the three men converted, they also refused to eat meat from the duke's table, a clear sign, in Olgerd's eyes, of their conversion to Orthodox Christianity.[156] The text on the martyrs of Vilnius suggests that embracing the "right faith" was not only about accepting the "right dogmas," but also displaying the appropriate symbols. Cutting one's hair and beard, for example, implied a cultural otherness that should be changed upon embracing the right faith.[157] Yet the Lithuanian martyrs are not called "Christians" in the text, although they have embraced Orthodox Christianity, dispensed with the external markings of being pagan, and stopped eating meat.

In the martyrion on George of Adrianople and that on the soldiers of Philadelphia, however, the Latins are considered part of the Christian community or depicted rather neutrally. The historical context of the production of the martyria is revealing in these instances. As noted, the story on George of

151 Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, 25, 28, 68, 71–72.

152 Ibid., 35. Anthimos, metropolitan of Athens (*BHG* 2029) 74, lines 21–22.

153 Three Martyrs of Vilnius (*BHG* 2035), 154, lines 16–23: "ὧν οἱ δύο καὶ ἀδελφοὶ πεφυκότες, καί ποτε τοῖς τῆς [εὐ]σεβείας γέμουσι συγγενόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ παρ᾽αὐτῶν ἐπύθοντο τρανότερον τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τὸν πρὶν ἄθλον ἐκεῖνον ἀποσεισάμενοι τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μεθ᾽ ὅσου τοῦ κρείττονος προσήκοντο τ]ὸ κάλλος. Καὶ δι᾽ ὕδατος ἀνακαινισθέντες καὶ πνεύματος παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου τινὸς τὴν ἀξίαν, τοὔνομα Νέστορος, τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ τὴν προσηγορίαν συναποτίθενται."

154 Ibid., 155, lines 8–9: "᾽Οθεν οὐ τὰς τοῦ πώγωνος, οὐδὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς περιῄρουν, ὡς ἔθος τῷ πυρσολάτρῃ."

155 Ibid., 155, lines 25–27: "τίς, εἰπών, ὦ γενναῖοι, τίς, ἡ τοσαύτη ἀναίδεια μετὰ μορφῆς οὕτω προσελθεῖν ξένης καὶ ἀλλοτρίου."

156 Ibid., 155–156, lines 33, 1–3: "ταῦτα καὶ πλείω τούτων θωπείᾳ τὴν μανίαν συγκερασάμενος ἐκέλευε τῶν ἐπικειμένων αὐτοῦ κρεῶν τῇ τραπέζῃ τοὺς μάρτυρας ἀπογεύεσθαι, δεῖγμα τῆς μεταμελείας τοῦθ᾽ ἡγούμενος οὐκ ἀμφίβολον."

157 On beards and hair in the Byzantine world, literature on them and the schism between the Latin and the Byzantine worlds, and how the physical appearance of the Byzantine monks was ridiculed in the *Danişmendname,* see Chapter 1.

Adrianople expresses the optimistic mood of the author on the eve of the Council of Ferrara-Florence. He mentions both Rome and Constantinople as centers of the Christian community.[158] In the martyrion on the soldiers of Philadelphia, the Latins are the ones who killed Umur Beg of Aydın and enemy of the Philadelphians.[159] The author of this text is noncommittal about dogmatic differences with the Latins, as the power dynamics between Philadelphia and the Latins, as summarized in the first part of this chapter, were different from the situations in Cyprus and Crete.

The Latins are heretics in most of the martyria, and the Lithuanian martyrs are not yet deemed worthy of being called "Christians." Who then were the true "Christians"? Those of the Orthodox faith. Those who do not deviate from the Orthodox dogmas on azyme, filioque, or fasting.[160] Those who do not agree with the primacy of the Roman Catholic Church. Those who display the cultural symbols of Orthodoxy. Those of "our race," the Orthodox Christians.[161]

Thus, being Christian involves more than religious connotations. It not only relates to someone embracing Orthodox Christian dogmas and converting to Christianity, but also encompasses other cultural aspects, such as one's outlook. It incorporates such concepts as fatherland and homeland, family and household, and loyalty, that is, to the Byzantine emperor or the Byzantine patriarch of Constantinople. One wonders whether the terms *Christian* and *Roman* were effectively equivalent in the symbolic and political-cultural world of the authors of these texts.[162] The martyrs, however, are rarely identified as Romans.[163] The exception is found in the text on the thirteen monks of Cyprus, where the monks and the local people of Cyprus are mostly identified as

158 George of Andrinople (*BHG* 2160), 70, lines 113–115: "καὶ εἰ ἐν Κωνσταντινονπόλει, ἥ ἐστιν αὔχημα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἢ ἐν τῇ πρωτυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς τόποις τῶν χριστιανῶν… ."

159 Martyrs of Philadelphia (*BHG* 801q), 72, lines 36–39: "Θνήσκει γὰρ ἐκεῖσε διὰ βέλους ὀξυτάτου, οἷα τὰ τῶν Λατίνων, τὴν καιρίαν δεξάμενος κατὰ πρόσωπον, μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ θεηλάτου πληγῆς, ὡς ἡ θεόθεν ἀπόφασις, ἥτις καὶ δι᾽ ὀπτασίας ἐδηλώθη πρότερον τῆς φοβερᾶς ἡμῖν." For the analysis and dating of Turkish assaults against Philadelphia, see Lemerle, "Philadelphie et l'émirat d'Aydın," 55–68.

160 Thirteen Martyrs of Cyprus (*BHG* 1198), 20, lines 19–20; 26, line 1: "ἀληθοῦς πίστεως; τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως."

161 Ibid., 28, line 26: "ἅπαντας τοὺς τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους ὀρθοδόξους χριστιανούς."

162 According John Haldon, the terms *Christian* and *Roman* were equivalent in their symbolic and political-cultural value and implications in the seventh-century Byzantium. See Haldon, *The Empire That Would Not Die*, p. 106; idem, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge 1997), 327–337.

163 According to Athanasios D. Angelou, the decline in the use of the term *Romaios*, which is observed among some late Byzantine authors, goes hand in hand with the decline of the Byzantine state. Athanasios D. Angelou, "Who am I? Scholarios' Answer and the Hellenic

Orthodox Christians. Yet once the Latins put the hesychast monks in prison, the author states that the Romans dwelling on the island trembled with fear and prayed to God for help.[164] When the Latins speak, they call the hesychast monks the monks of the Greeks.[165]

In other martyria, Roman identity is employed in regard to people, things, and the realm, all under imperial Byzantine political authority. Niketas the Younger, who lives under the political rule of Mesud II, is identified as a Christian, but in the same text the Byzantine emperor, Andronikos II, is the "pious autocrator of the Romans."[166] The members of the Byzantine embassy sent by Andronikos II to Egypt (Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν διὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν), who were among various nationalities present in Alexandria at that time and witnessed the martyrdom of Michael, are referred to as Romans.[167] In some cases, the Roman identity marker is employed to territory and "things" that belonged to the Romans.[168]

While Adrianople was under the authority of the Byzantine emperor, the city and the people were considered to be Roman, as in the case of Theodore the Younger, but in the story of George of Adrianople, Adrianople was the Ottoman capital, and neither the Christians nor the city is referred to as Roman. Therefore Romanness in these texts is bound to political-territorial boundaries, which are determined by the limits of the imperial authority of Constantinople. Political-territorial boundaries could be extended through means of war to include as many peoples as possible, thus making them members of a single Roman political community, but this was not a period during which the imperial authority had such military powers. The texts hint that there is a difference between Orthodox Christians and Romans. The Romans are the

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Identity," in *Philhellen: Studies in Honour of Robert Browning*, ed. Costas N. Constantinides et al. (Venice 1996), 19.

164 Thirteen Martyrs of Cyprus (*BHG* 1198), 30, lines 20–21: "τοιαῦτα τοίνυν εἰς αὐτοὺς δεδρακότες, φόβος καὶ τρόμος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ Ῥωμαίους."

165 Ibid., 38, line 7: "οἱ μονάζοντες οὗτοι τῶν Γραικῶν." For the range of expressions of identity in late medieval Cyprus, see Tassos Papacostas and Guillaume Saint-Guillain, eds., *Identity and Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus* (Nicosia 2014). For religion and ethnic identity in Lusignan Cyprus, see Nicholas Coureas, "Religion and Ethnic Identity in Lusignan Cyprus: How the Various Groups Saw Themselves and Were Seen by the Others," in Papacostas and Saint-Guillain, *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus,* 13–25.

166 Niketas the Younger by Theodore Mouzalon (*BHG* 2302), 150, lines 824–825: "τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαϊκῶν σκήπτρων Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς αὐτοκράτορος."

167 Michael of Alexandria (*BHG* 2273), 676E: "καί παντὸς γένους ἄνθρωποι, Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν διὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν, ἥπερ εἴρηται, καὶ δι' ἐμπορίαν παρατυχόντων τῇ πόλει, Ἰταλοὶ καὶ τούτων γε πλήρης διὰ τὰς ἐμπορίας ἡ πόλις ἀεί, Ῥὼς ὡσαύτως ἐθάδες ἐκείνῃ, Ἄραβες, Σύροι, αὐτόθεν τε καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἐπίδημοι καὶ Τριβαλλοί."

168 Theodore the Younger (*BHG* 2431), 216: "τοῖς τηνικαῦτα τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων λῃϊζομένοις."

Orthodox Christians living under the imperial political order demarcated by the fluctuating limits of the Roman emperor's authority. The lost provinces and their populations formerly under Roman rule are no longer viewed as Roman. Orthodox Christianity was the primary identity that maintained bonds with the empire, and the boundaries of the Orthodox community exceeded that of the Roman one.[169]

The absence of Roman identification is also seen in cases where Orthodox Christians are not under a foreign political authority, such as in the text on the martyrs of Philadelphia, in which the citizens of the city are referred to as the people of Philadelphia or the Christians of Philadelphia.[170] Regional identification is also found in the text on Anthimos, where the Orthodox people of Crete are most frequently called Cretans (οἱ Κρῆτες), but also Christians or the Orthodox people.[171] The difference between the Cretans and the people of Philadelphia is that while the Cretans, as depicted in the text on Anthimos, recognize the centrality of Constantinople and the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople in maintaining their Orthodox Christian identity, the Philadelphians vindicate their Orthodoxy independently of Constantinople. In all cases, their Christian identity is represented as inimical to barbarian ways and the beliefs of the Latins and Muslims.

The martyria reflect two Byzantine geographical or spatial notions—patris (native land, city, place of birth), in connection with genos and oikos, and the Christian Roman oikoumene—as essential elements of Byzantine identity. Patris encompasses the notions of oikos (the social units of household) and genos (birth, kin, ancestry).[172] Patris in these texts is not a territorially abstract

169 For a similar geopolitical image of the Roman community in earlier centuries, see Stouraidis, "Reinventing Roman Ethnicity in High and Late Medieval Byzantium." On development and change to the content of Byzantine Romanness during the period of the early Muslim expansion, see Haldon, *The Empire That Would Not Die*, 79–119.

170 Martyrs of Philadelphia (*BHG* 801q), 71, lines 6–8: "Ὁ γὰρ ἀσεβὴς ἐκεῖνος καὶ χριστομάχος Ἀμούρης, ὁ καὶ Ἀτίνης, μυρίας μηχανὰς ἐργασάμενος κατὰ τῆς εὐκλεοῦς ταύτης καὶ θεοσκεπάστου πόλεως ἡμῶν Φιλαδελφείας καὶ διὰ προδοσιῶν… ."

171 On Cretan identity, see Chryssa Maltezou, "Byzantine legends in Venetian Crete," *Aetos: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango*, ed. *Ihor Ševčenko* and Irmgrad Hutter (Stuttgart 1998), 233–242; Gasparis, "The Period of Venetian Rule on Crete," 236; Sally McKee, "Sailing from Byzantium: Byzantines and Greeks in the Venetian World," Herrin and Saint-Guillain, *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean,* 291–303.

172 On patris as Constantinople, the home of the Byzantine elites, see Catia Galatariotou, "Travel and Perception in Byzantium," *DOP* 47 (1993): 221–241. On the Byzantines' concept of patris conceived in the broader sense as the "fatherland" rather than home, see Magdalino, "Honour among Romaioi," 183–218. On patris as the native city of the Byzantine emperors in the Palaiologan panegyrics, see Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 103. On genos and how it refers to lineage and origins and how it transmits a totality of cultural criteria, see

and indefinable entity like the empire or some other expansive land.[173] It is the birthplace and homeland of the martyrs: Ankara for Niketas the Younger, the Smyrna region for Michael of Alexandria, Adrianople for Theodore the Younger, and the city of Philadelphia for the soldiers of Philadelphia. Patris, whether an island, a city, or a region, is defined by and associated with the Orthodox Christian communities that inhabit it and with the presence of the Orthodox Church, the saints, and the holy persons in that area.[174] The people on the other hand are defined by their genos and by their oikos. Yet this is a chicken

Elizabeth Malamut, "De l'empire de Romains à la nation des Hellènes: évolution identitaire des Byzantins de la fin du XIe au XVe siècle," in *Nation et nations au Moyen Âge: XLIVe congrès de la SHMESP (Prague, 23 Mai–26 Mai 2013)* (Paris 2014), 166. On genos as an ethnic metaphor in the Roman world and on Roman genos, which framed the peoples of formerly disparate tribes by constitution, see Walter Pohl, "Romanness: A Multiple Identity and Its Changes," *Early Medieval Europe* 22, no. 4 (2014): 412. According to Paul Magdalino, genos and patris were the two basic coordinates of Byzantine social existence. They both conferred an honorable start in life and glory from a life honorably lived. Oikos (household) was subsumed within genos and constituted its basic structure. See Magdalino, "Honour among Romaioi."

173 For a similar perception of patris in Byzantine sources between the tenth and twelfth centuries, see Stouraidis, "Reinventing Roman Identity," 78–79.

174 This aspect of people defining territory rather than territory defining people can be found in earlier Byzantine texts, including the tenth-century *De thematibus*, *De administrando imperio,* and the *Patria. De thematibus* is a survey of the administrative divisions ("themes" or *themata*) that replaced the provinces of the later Roman Empire, while *De administrando imperio* is a guide to foreign and domestic policies. For the Byzantine perception of imperial geography in these two texts, and on the interpretation of how the primary focus of the historical geography of the empire in these works is on peoples, who defined the territories, see Paul Magdalino, "Constantine VII and the Historical Geography of Empire," in Bazzaz, Batsaki, and Angelov, *Imperial Geographies in Byzantine and Ottoman Space*, 23–41. These examples show that the Byzantines, like the ancients, tended to associate territories with the people inhabiting them. On this subject, also see Michael Maas, "Strabo and Procopius: Classical Geography for a Christian Empire," in *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*, ed. Hagit Amirav and Bas Ter Haar Romeny (Leuven 2007), 67–83. For the Byzantine geographical traditions, see Angelov, "Asia and Europe Commonly Called East and West," 43–68. A similar association can be perceived in the *Patria*—the four-book collection of short historical notices, stories, and legends about the buildings and monuments of Constantinople compiled by an anonymous author. This work does not offer an exhaustive of systematic description of places. It rather records the monuments and areas of Constantinople along with the stories of the patrons, builders, and legendary founders, thus defining the monuments and the places through people associated with them. For the English translation, see *Accounts of Medieval Contantinople: The Patria*, trans. Albrecht Berger (Washington, D.C., 2013). For a commentary on the text, see Gilbert Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: études sur le recueil des "Patria"* (Paris 1984). See also Albrecht Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (Bonn 1988).

and egg situation. To have "Christian" descendants, a church, and saints' relics, a place must have once been under the rule of the Christian Roman/Byzantine emperor ruling from Constantinople. In fact, this is probably why the Lithuanians are considered as having the "right faith" but not called "Christians."

The martyrs of Vilnius are said to have impious ancestors, and they are Rus, "but not from among those who, from the beginning, have been coming to us by boat but among those who are called Lithuanians and fire worshippers."[175] When the Lithuanian duke saw the long hair and beards of his officials in his court, he asked them to revert to their original look, the good ways of their ancestors (τὸ πάτριον ἡμῖν).[176] The homeland of the martyrs of Vilnius is associated with their pagan descendants, who had long inhabited their homeland.

The martyrs' relation to territory is through their household and descendants, who had been part of the Christian community and whose protection, guidance, well-being, and identity were guaranteed through their adherence to Christian laws, customs, and traditions, which were in turn defined by the emperors and the patriarchs in Constantinople. In these narratives, local geographical self-identification is closely linked to the supra-regional geographical marker of Christian Roman oikoumene, whose protector, depending on the context, is either the Byzantine emperor, the patriarch of Constantinople, or both.[177]

Ankara, the patris of Niketas the Younger, and Nyssa, where he was martyred, were subjugated to the Persians, who were barbaric and infidel. What differentiated Ankara and Nyssa from the lands of the Lithuanians was that the cities still preserved the community of Christians and the church that followed Orthodox Christian laws.[178] Mouzalon repeatedly emphasizes Christian laws

175 Three Martyrs of Vilnius (*BHG* 2035), 154, lines 2–7: "Ῥῶσσοι ἂν ὄντες τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, οὐ τῶν ἡμῖν τῇ χώρᾳ προσπελαζόντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνους εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς κατεψυγμένης, οὓς Λιτβοὺς ὡς δὲ καὶ πυρολάτρας ὁ λόγος καλεῖ, ἐναντίον ἐπήνεγκαν τοῖς προοιμίοις τὸ τέλος. Τὴν γὰρ πατρικὴν ἀσέβειαν… ." On Rus' or Ros,' see Simon Franklin, "Rus'," ODB 3:1818–1820.

176 Ibid., 155, lines 29–32.

177 On the idea of Byzantines' spatial conception of ecumenism and limited oikoumene in regard to Byzantine imperial and ecclesiastical claims, see Telemachos C. Lounghis, "The Byzantine Ideology of 'Limited Ecumenism' and the Roman Question at the end of the 10th Century," *ByzantinoSlavica* 56 (1995): 117–128; Johannes Koder, "Die räumlichen Vorstellungen der Byzantiner von der Ökumene (4. bis 12. Jahrhundert)," in *Anzeiger-Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 137, no. 2 (2002): 15–34; Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 83. On supra-regional geographic markers of Byzantine identity, see Johannes Koder, "Byzantium as Seen by Itself: Images and Mechanisms at Work," *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Sofia 22–27 August 2011, Plenary Papers*, vol. 1 (Sofia 2011), 75.

178 Niketas the Younger by Theodore Mouzalon (*BHG* 2302), 130, lines 45–52: "Ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ κάτω τῷ γενναίῳ πατρὶς Ἄγκυρα. Γαλατῶν πόλις καὶ Γαλατῶν ἀρχῆθεν καὶ ἐς δεῦρο

(οἱ χριστιανικοὶ νόμοι). Throughout the narrative, "our laws," the Christian laws, are compared and contrasted to the laws of "the other," the laws of Muhammad. A link is created between the Christians living outside Byzantine territory with the Byzantine Empire through Christian laws.[179]

When Niketas and his friends are asked who they are, they say that they are Christians by genos (γένος) and by faith (πίστιν).[180] Nyssa, though under the sway of the Persian barbarians and hence lacking its former beauty, still possessed its holy remnants, the grave and coffin of Gregory of Nyssa, which were guarded and revered by the local Christian community.[181] Therefore, it is rendered a Christian place not only because of the existence of a Christian community following Christian laws, but also because of the memorializing of saints and presence of their holy relics.

μητρόπολις. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ δουλεύει Πέρσαις χρόνον ἤδη μακρὸν τῇ βαρβαρικῇ καὶ ἀθέῳ τούτων δυναστείᾳ ὑποπεσοῦσα, ἀλλ᾽οὖν ἔτι περισῴζει οὐ βραχύ τι μέρος χριστιανῶν, παρ᾽οἷς ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ψαλλόντων τε καὶ ἀνομολογούντων τὸν κύριον"; ibid., 132, lines 145–146: "οἱ χριστιανικοὶ … νόμοι"; ibid., 133, lines 169–170: "οἱ χριστιανικοῖς πολιτευόμενοι νόμοις"; ibid., 135, line 261: "τῶν Χριστοῦ νόμων."

179 The Byzantine emperor Andronikos II is presented as the philanthropic Christian ruler concerned about Christians outside the empire, who insist on being bound to Christian law. In a similar vein, the Byzantine canonist Theodore Balsamon (d. after 1195), who supported strong imperial power and imperial political aspirations, stated that *Rhomaioi*, the Romans, were those who lived according to Roman law even if they lived outside the political authority of the Byzantine emperor. In this respect, he emphasized the Byzantine emperor's role in the application of Roman law as a universal lawmaker and as a quasi-bishop. In the text on Niketas the Younger, Mouzalon replaces Romans with Christians and Roman law with Christian law. On Theodore Balsamon and the Christians living outside Byzantium, see PG 138:953; John Meyendorff, "Balsamon, the Empire and the Barbarians," in *Byzantium in the 12th Century: Canon Law, State and Society*, ed. Nicolas Oikonomides (Athens 1991), 533–542. For the role of the Byzantine emperor as a universal legislator and for Theodore Balsamon's contribution to this idea, see Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge 2003), 249–267; idem, "Lawful Society and Legitimate Power: ἔννομος πολιτεία, ἔννομος ἀρχή," in *Law and Society in Byzantium: Ninth–Twelfth Centuries*, ed. Angeliki Laiou and Dieter Simon (Washington, D.C., 1994), 27–51. See Haldon, *The Empire That Would Not Die*, 122–132, on Roman law interpreted through a Christian lens and on canon law, two sets of regulatory precepts that promoted distinct communal identities in the Byzantine Empire in the seventh and eighth centuries, and on how they created the moral framework of shared values.

180 Niketas the Younger by Theodore Mouzalon (*BHG* 2302), 133, lines 178–179.

181 Ibid., 131, lines 83–93: "Οὐδένα ἀγνοεῖν οἶομαι τὴν Νυσσαέων ἐκκλησίαν, ἣν πάλαι ποτὲ ἐκόσμει ὁ πολὺς τὰ θεῖα Γρηγόριος. Ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ λείψανον σορῷ καὶ τάφῳ δοθὲν μέχρι καὶ ἐς δεῦρο θησαυρός ἐστι θαυμάτων ἀκένωτος, ἐκεῖ καλῶς τοῖς περιλειφθεῖσι τῶν χριστιανῶν καὶ φυλαττόμενον καὶ τιμώμενον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ Νύσσα αὕτη, ἡ πάλαι ποτὲ πόλις, πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν πρὶν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπώλεσεν. ὑπό γὰρ βαρβάρων τυραννεῖται Περσῶν, μόνῃ δὲ τῇ σορῷ καὶ τῷ λειψάνῳ τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦδε ποιμένος περιᾴδεται καὶ σεμνύνεται."

In a similar fashion, the patris of Michael of Alexandria, near the city of Smyrna, was marked by his paternal oikos (οἰκείων πατρῴων) and by the treasures of Christian piety and faith (θησαυρῶν τῆς χριστιανικῆς θεοσεβείας καὶ πίστεως).[182] The origins (τὸ γένος) of Theodore the Younger are in the city of Adrianople, where he was raised by pious parents (εὐσεβῶν πατέρων). The land from which he was cut off was the land or things of the Romans (τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων). His true origins stemmed from his pious parents, but when he denied Jesus, was circumcised, received education without the consent of God, and began raiding areas in Asia with the "barbarians," he exchanged his true origins for a bastard version. He descended into oblivion and became the other. Theodore's youth, his ignorance of his wrong doing, and the "extreme danger" that the Muslim political authority represented, inclined him toward the religion of the foreigner.[183]

According to the author of the martyrion on George of Adrianople, the city of Adrianople had once been a blessed city, as it was a city in which numerous Christians dwelled. Yet Agarenes had grown in number there, and it is now misguided, full of wrongs, similar to the times when the city was ruled by the defiled race of Hellenes.[184] The Hellenes are mentioned in a pejorative manner in the martyrion on George of Adrianople as well as in the one on Niketas the Younger, but in some instances, they are referred to neutrally in discussing the history of an area. In the latter instances, the authors connect the archaeology of a city or an area to the stories of its ancient peoples, who built and resided in it. In the martyrion on Theodore the Younger, the Hellenic origins of the city of Adrianople are presented. Accordingly, Theodore was from the city of Adrianos, which had formerly been called Orestias, after Orestes, the son of Clytemnestra and Agamemnon, the king who commanded the Hellenes through Troy. Orestes constructed and repopulated the city. Generations later, Adrianos found the city abandoned and hence rebuilt it and resided there.[185]

Reference to mythological characters in martyrdom stories is not unique to the case of Theodore the Younger. The anonymous sermon written for

182 Michael of Alexandria (*BHG* 2273), 671D–F.

183 Theodore the Younger (*BHG* 2431), 216.

184 George of Andrinople (*BHG* 2160), 67, lines 13–16: "εὑρέθη ἐν Ἀδριανουπόλει—τῇ ποτὲ μὲν μακαρίᾳ, ὡς ἐνεγκαμένῃ χριστώνυμον πλῆθος, ἤδη δὲ δυστυχεῖ, βριθούσῃ τῇ πλάνῃ, ὡς ὅτε καὶ πρὶν τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκράτει μιαρὸν γένος."

185 Theodore the Younger (*BHG* 2431), 216: "Οὗτος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νέος μάρτυς, Θεόδωρος, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὸ γένος εἶλκεν Ἀδριανοῦ, ἥτις τὸ παλαιὸν Ὀρεστιὰς ἐλέγετο, Ὀρέστου ταύτην ἐκ βάθρων ἀνεγείραντός τε καὶ οἰκήσαντος. υἱὸς δὲ οὗτος τοῦ τῶν κατὰ τῆς Τροίας στρατηγησάντων Ἑλλήνων βασιλέως. Μετὰ πολλὰς δὲ γενεὰς Ἀδριανός νενοσηκυῖαν εὑρὼν καὶ ἐκλελοιπυῖαν ὥσπερ ἀνακαινίσας αὖθις ᾤκησεν."

Anthimos, contrary to the one written by Neilos Kerameus, informs that Anthimos had been released from the pit to which he had been confined in Crete. When the author heard the rumors of his release, he felt moved to repeat the words of Eumaios, swineherd and the father figure of Telemachos, the son of Odysseus, "You are come, Telemachos, sweet light of my eyes."[186]

Personification of a territory is most obvious in the words of Theodore Metochites, which one finds in the martyrion on Michael of Alexandria. Metochites personifies Egypt and accuses her of having accepted the "unnatural, most absurd and disgusting dogma." "That's what you get now Egypt," he says and continues to blame Egypt for having exchanged her former wisdom, her former majestic dogmas of piety and sacred splendid ornaments of Christian conduct, her formerly glorious and virtuous men, and her fame, which had spread all over the oikoumene with the most ignorant, dishonorable customs. In doing so, Egypt had been vulgarly misled and become evil.[187]

Patris, oikos, and genos are believed to be inseparable and to have a transgenerational quality in the eyes of some of the authors of the late Byzantine martyrdom narratives.[188] For example, Michael of Alexandria although he was removed from his fatherland, family, and household at a very young age, received a "barbaric" education, and served in the Mamluk army, the resistant innate from his origins remained, and he yearned to return to his true origins. He could only find the courage to do so upon the arrival of the imperial Byzantine embassy.

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186 Anthimos, metropolitan of Athens (*BHG* 2029), 55, lines 29–30: "Ἐπῆλθε τότε λέξαι κἀμοὶ τό τοῦ Εὐμαίου ῥητόν, τὸ ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος." For the line that the anonymous author repeats, see Homer, *Odyssey*, vol. 2, trans. Augustus Taber Murray, rev. George E. Dimock (Cambridge, MA, 1998), book 16:23.

187 Michael of Alexandria (*BHG* 2273), 672A–B: "καὶ σοι τοιαῦτα νῦν, Αἴγυπτε, πάσης αἰσχύνης καὶ ἀμαθέστατα σπουδάσματα καὶ νόμιμα, ἀντὶ τῆς πρὶν σοφίας περιφανοῦς ἐκείνης καὶ τοῦ κλέους τοσούτου κατὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἧς ὅλως παιδείας ἔρως ἥψατο καὶ πεῖρα φιλοσοφίας, μάλλον δ᾽ἀντὶ τῶν πρὶν σοι πανσέπτων καὶ πανσέμνων δογμάτων τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ ἱερῶν, εὐαγῶν καὶ περιλάμπρων κόσμων τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ πίστεως, καὶ τῶν πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν καὶ καλλίστην ἐν θείοις καὶ πράγμασι καὶ νοήμασιν ἄσκησιν μεγαλωνύμων ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων, οὕς ἀνεδίδους καὶ ἔτρεφες ἑκάστοτε πάνυ τοι πλείστους, φορὰν ὄντως τῷ Χριστῷ δεκτήν τε καὶ πλήρη καὶ σφόδρα ἐπέραστον καὶ θύματα εὐώδη καὶ τέλεια καὶ ἀκίβδηλα. Τοιαῦτά σου τὰ πρῶτα θαυμαστὰ καὶ πάντιμα πάντῃ περιβοώμενα, καὶ τοιαῦτα τὰ νὺν ἀντίῤῥοπα καθάπαξ, σοί τε κακῶς οὕτω χρῆσθαι καὶ ὡς μήποτ᾽ ὤφελες, καὶ πᾶσιν ἄλλοις ἀκούειν. Καὶ διαβέβλησαι φαύλη φαύλως. Καὶ τοιαῦτ᾽ ἠλλάξω τῆς πρὶν εὐγενείας καὶ εὐκλαρίας, ἀποτρόπαιον ὡς ἀληθῶς ὅραμα γενομένη καὶ ἄκουσμα."

188 This trans-generational element is the reality of being born into a certain group. Gill Page points out a similar approach to Roman identity in the non-religious late Byzantine texts of Akropolites, Pachymeres, Gregoras, and Kantakouzenos. See Page, *Being Byzantine*, 123, 131, 157.

In a similar fashion, Theodore the Younger's conscious asserts his true origins, although he too was forcefully removed at a young age from his fatherland, subsequently educated in a "barbaric" manner, and served the "infidels" raiding Asia.[189] To soothe his pained conscience, Theodore searches for counsel and guidance first from a wise man and then from the patriarch in Constantinople. In the end, the martyrdoms of Michael and Theodore are presented as the vindication of their true origins.

The role of the Byzantine emperor or the patriarch in Constantinople in encouraging the lost souls to find their true origins and in providing assistance so they do not lose their identities is openly referred to or hinted at in most of the martyria. Emperor Andronikos II is presented as the God-loving, philanthropic (φιλοθέως καὶ φιλανθρώπως) ruler,[190] and the Christ-loving troops living in the Seljuk realms supply him or his entourage with the holy reports of Niketas the Younger.[191] Metochites argues that the Byzantine emperor sends frequently friendly embassies to the impious, hateful, and most hostile ruler, not because of some requirement, but for the sake of the Christian faith, as all he thinks about is Christian prosperity, not only the Christians at home in his allotted territory, but also elsewhere, even far from his own dominion.[192]

Metochites notes how the great love and pious zeal of the emperor extended to areas where any ember of Christian piety burned or a small number of men purely and genuinely worshipped God and took pride in the divine name of the savior Christ. He describes how the emperor tries in every possible way to provide safety and freedom and keep the faith intact in those lands where "the power of Satan triumphs over human nature." In these lands are pious communities of Christian men, and houses of divinity and monasteries being

189 For the definition of Asia in the late Byzantine period, see Angelov, "Asia and Europe Commonly called East and West," 43–69, esp. 62–63.

190 Niketas the Younger by Theodore Mouzalon (*BHG* 2302), 150, line 826.

191 Ibid., 129–130, lines 38–41: "'Εκαστος δὲ ὑμῶν, ὦ φιλόχριστον σύνταγμα, τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῖν ὑποσχόντες, ὁμοῦ μὲν σὺν φόβῳ καὶ θειατέρᾳ τῇ ἡδονῇ ἀροᾶσθε τῶν λεγομένων…"

192 Michael of Alexandria (*BHG* 2273), 673A: "Αλλ᾽ ἄρ᾽, ὡς ἔφην, ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως μέγας οὗτος ἔρως καὶ ἡ φιλόχριστος αὕτη σπουδὴ κἀκεῖ φέρει πάνυ τοι πόρρω καὶ πάντα τρόπον οἰκονομεῖ τὸν ἐνόντα καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τόποις θεοσεβέσι τ᾽ἀσφαλὲς καὶ ἀλώβητον καὶ ἀτυράννητον τῆς πίστεως, καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσῳ τοσούτων ζιζανίων συμπνιγομένοις χριστιανικοῖς σπέρμασι ῥᾳστώνην ἥντινα δὴ καὶ βίοτον ὁπωσοῦν ἄλυπον· καὶ τοῦτό οἱ βούλονται, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐστιν ὁ σκόπος, αἱ συχναὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς χώρας πρεσβεῖαι καὶ τἀνθάδε πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου χρείαν ἀπαντῶντα φιλίως καὶ μάλ᾽ εὐγενῶς, τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς οὐδὲν ὀλιγωροῦντος, ὧν ἐκείνῳ μέλοι ἄν; ibid., 670/C–E: Καὶ ἡ χριστιανικὴ διὰ πάντων ἐπίδειξις καὶ προκοπὴ καὶ εὐετηρία, φροντίδος σοὶ πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ἔργον, καὶ δόξα σοι ταῦτα καὶ τρυφὴ καὶ καυχήσεως ὄντως στέφανος"; ibid., 673A–B.

erected and decorated due to the "untiring and unchangeable efforts of the pious emperor."[193] The martyrdom of Michael is presented as a gift of God to the emperor, who is a spiritual guide to the Christians in his own territory and abroad.[194]

In the case of Anthimos, the Byzantine patriarch in Constantinople is considered the teacher, guide, and protector of the Orthodox Cretans under Latin rule.[195] The attachment of Cretans to the patriarch is emphasized in the logos on Anthimos, written by Neilos Kerameus. The Cretans send ambassadors to the patriarch asking for guidance and protection against Latin oppression.[196] In the akolouthia on Theodore the Younger, the wise man suggests that Theodore see the patriarch, the one person capable of binding and detaching someone from the Christian community.[197]

The author of the martyrion on George of Adrianople praises both the Byzantine emperor and the Byzantine patriarch. In all of these cases, the existence of Orthodox Christian communities and the relics of a holy man in these areas make these territories part of the Christian Roman oikoumene, although they are at the time under "foreign," "barbaric," or "heretic" rule. The authors of the narratives do not consider the martyrdoms as cause for despair, but victories won for the Christian Roman oikoumene, which is guided and protected by the emperor or patriarch in Constantinople or both.

193 Ibid., 672F and 673A–B.

194 Ibid., 670E–F: "Οἷον δή σοι καὶ τόδε μάλιστ' ἐφετὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ πολυπόθητον ἀπήντησε νέον, ὁ νέος οὗτος ἀναδειχθεὶς μέγας ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ θεοσεβείας ἀγωνιστής τε καὶ μάρτυς, ὃν δὴ πέμπουσί σοι νῦν."

195 Anthimos, metropolitan of Athens (*BHG* 2029), 77, lines 11–12: "ἐξ ἧς ἀκριβὴς ὀρθῶν δογμάτων διδάσκαλος ἀπεδείχθη."

196 Ibid., 68–69, lines 33–40 and lines 1–4: "Ἦδεσαν γὰρ βαρυτέραν παντὸς κινδύνου καὶ μόνην εἶναι προσήκουσαν ἀνθρώποις ἐλευθερίαν, μὴ πάθεσι δουλεύειν ἀελευθέροις μηδὲ τὴν σάρκα κατεξανιστάντας τῷ πνεύματι δύναμιν αὐτῇ παρέχειν τοῦ κρείττονος περιγίγνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔκτισται μᾶλλον τὴν ψυχὴν ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀλογίας κατακρατεῖν, τοῦτο δ' οὖκ ἄν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ διδασκάλων εὐποροῖεν τῆς εὐσεβείας τῇ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ὁδηγίᾳ δυναμένων αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπανάγειν τῆς σωτηρίας. Ταύτην δὴ τὴν καλὴν ἐπιθυμίαν σπουδὴν ἔχοντες εἰς πέρας ἰδεῖν ἐλθοῦσαν πρεσβεύονται πρὸς τὸν μέγαν τῆς βασιλευούσης πόλεως, ταὐτὸν δ' εἰπεῖν καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης, ἀρχιερέα δεόμενοι μὴ σφᾶς παριδεῖν, ὥσπερ ποίμνιον ἀνεπίσκοπον, εἰς διαρπαγὴν πᾶσι θηρίοις ἕτοιμον, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ θυέλλης τινὸς καὶ ζόφου μέγαλου τῶν κατεσχηκότων διεσκεδασμένον βαρβάρων… ."

197 Theodore the Younger (*BHG* 2431), 217, lines 30–33: "ἢ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου θᾶττον καταλαβὼν πάντα τε καθαρῶς ἀναθέμενος τῷ τῆς Οἰκουμενικῆς Ἐκκλησίας διέποντι τοὺς οἴακας, εἰλικρινῶς σὺν πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ποίησον, ὅσα ἄν σοι δι' ἐκείνου τὸ πανάγιον εἴπῃ πνεῦμα. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ δεσμοῦ τε καὶ λύσεως ἡ χώρα δέδοται."

The martyria make clear the central role of Constantinople as an "exemplary center."[198] To wit, the Cretans write to the patriarch in Constantinople, the queen of the cities, for help. The relics of the three martyrs of Vilnius were transferred to Constantinople under the auspices of Philotheos Kokkinos, the patriarch in Constantinople. The wise man points Theodore the Younger to the patriarch in Constantinople. Michael of Alexandria can find the courage to put his intentions into action upon the arrival of the Byzantine embassy from Constantinople. The city of Constantinople is praised as the glory of the Christians by the Muslims in Adrianople, and news of the Christians in Nyssa-Cappadocia is delivered to the city of Constantinople.

A mode of spatiality in these texts issues from and is oriented toward Constantinople. It fits well within the scheme of efforts of post-1261 Byzantine emperors and patriarchs, such as rebuilding and repairing churches, monasteries, and other focal points of worship, pilgrimage, and imperial ceremonial in the city, the resumption of Constantinopolitan cults and practices, and the rediscovery and reappearance of relics to assert the rightful dominion of Constantinople over the Christian Roman oikoumene. The "well-born" martyrs, having pious descendants and parents, and being part of a Christian oikos and hence beginning their life honorably in a Christian patris, gain glory in their life by ending it honorably. In this way, they put a Christian mark on these territories. These virtuous men served as prestigious adornment to mark and appropriate space through remembrance and their relics and turn these territories into an Orthodox Christian place. All these Orthodox Christian places collectively formed the Christian Roman oikoumene, which according to the martyria, was rightfully guided and protected by the Byzantine emperor and the patriarch in Constantinople.

In most of the martyria, being Orthodox Christian serves as the basis of the Constantinopolitan universalizing discourse. Yet one sees a change in the leadership of this universal Orthodox Christian community. As one moves from the early thirteenth century martyria toward those of the fifteenth century, the timeframe being a period in which the difficulty of recovering lost territories became increasingly apparent, the idea develops that the church could continue to rule and guide without the imperial state. This is especially visible in the martyria written under the hesychast patriarchs, in which one perceives the function of the patriarch of Constantinople attaining the same universality

198 Shephard, "Imperial Constantinople: Relics, Palaiologos Emperors and the Resilience of the Exemplary Center," 61–92.

as the emperor. Then, by 1437, in the text on George of Adrianople, both the emperor and the patriarch seem to share this role on equal terms.

The martyria reflects the development of an exclusive and trans-generational Byzantine identity among the Constantinopolitan elite. Religious identity in the martyria is closely tied to the political, territorial, and cultural dimensions of the communal self. Defining the heroes as Christian emerges as the common denominator for those representing "us." Yet this cannot be considered a purely religious marker, as the authors do not consider every "Christian" a true Christian. External appearance as well as geographical identity, plus patris (homeland, fatherland) together with genos (family, descent, race) and oikos (household), played particular roles in the consideration of a Christian being a true Christian. In the texts, the local geographical identity marker of patris reveals that the Byzantines perceived and defined a territory, a city, and other areas by the people living and dwelling there.

What is common to most of them is the emphasis on the "supra-regional" geographical aspect of the Byzantine identity and on the universal role of the emperor or the patriarch of Constantinople over the Christian Roman oikoumene. The existence of a Orthodox Christian community, monuments, relics, and remembrance of Christian saints, guided and protected either by the Byzantine emperor and the Byzantine patriarch, lead the authors to consider these territories part of the Christian Roman oikoumene.

3.5 *Them*

The Latins, though Christians, represented the "other," but to show how the Byzantines perceived them as heretics, not as Christians, they were discussed under the rubric of "us."

In all the martyria examined, the term Turk is only used with regard to the armies of the Aydın emirate and their leader Umur, in the matryrion on the soldiers of Philadelphia. There they are all "atheist Turks" (τῶν ἀθέων Τούρκων), the "infidel enemies of Christ."[199] In the martyrion on Niketas the Younger, in which the martyrdom takes place under the rule of the Seljuk sultan Mesud II, the Persians represent the "other" and are presented as atheists and barbaric.[200] The Persians were the true power and the land was Persian (τὴν Περσικὴν χώραν).[201] Mesud was merely "holding Persian power and honoring their

199 Martyrs of Philadelphia (*BHG* 801q). For use of *Tourkoi* in Byzantine literature, see Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks*, 31–33. Also see Moravscik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 2, 320–322.

200 Niketas the Younger by Theodore Mouzalon (*BHG* 2302), 130, lines 489–50.

201 Ibid., 134, line 216.

impious errors."[202] The author begs the martyr "to cut in pieces the impious nations and to stop the Persian blows by fortifying the Christian frontiers."[203]

The Persian nation (ἔθνος τὸ Περσῶν) is governed and guided by Muhammad, "the instrument of Satan and the teacher of disbelief" (Μωάμετ, τὸ τοῦ Σατὰν ὄργανον). Muhammad had stolen from the customs of Christians and incorporated customs and ideas from the ancient history of Moses, altering them with his own interpretations and forming distorted customs in a fashion similar to the Hellenes.[204] One such distortion involved the custom of fasting. According to Muhammad, one has to be content with not eating during the daytime, but after sunset the belly can be filled, squandered in luxury. Contrary to Christian fasting, he permitted the consumption of meat, but prohibited wine drinking.[205]

The city of Nyssa was home to the impious of all ages, races, and habits.[206] The impious Persians were also compared to the Jews, who had made false accusations against the Christians. Muhammad, however, is considered more wretched than a Jew.[207] The Persians imitated the dismissiveness of the God-fighting Jews. They tried to throw obscurity and shade over the power of miracles. When a light emerged from the tomb of the martyr, they accused martyr's mother of having kindled a candle underneath the burial place of her child.[208]

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202 Niketas the Younger by Theodore Mouzalon (*BHG* 2302), 150, lines 822–828: "Καὶ τὴν μακαρίαν ψυχὴν εἰς τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χεῖρας κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν παρατίθεται, μῆνα ἄγοντος τοῦ ἔτους Δεκέβριον, τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαϊκῶν σκήπτρων Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς αὐτοκράτορος σφόδρα φιλοθέως καὶ φιλανθρώπως τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διέποντος, Μασοὺτ δὲ τὴν Περσικὴν ἔχοντος δυναστείαν καὶ τὴν ἄθεον αὐτῶν πλάνην τιμῶντος."

203 Ibid., 153–154, lines 962–979: "Ἀλλ' ἐποπτεύοις καὶ ἡμᾶς ἄνωθεν, ἀθλητά, τῇ παρρησίᾳ καὶ πρεσβείᾳ τῇ εἰς θεόν, τήν τε ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ, τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον ὀρθοτομοῦσαν, ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στηρίζων θεμελίου τῆς πίστεως καὶ αὔξων ταῖς τῆς ὁμονοίας καὶ ὁμοψυχίας ἀγαθαῖς ἐπιδόσεσι, τήν τε φιλόχριστον βασιλείαν κρατύνων καὶ πολεμίους ὑποτάσσων αὐτῇ, ἔθνη τε ἀτίθασα καταρράσσων τὰ μὴ προσκυνοῦντα τὸν ποιήσαντα κύριον. Καὶ στήσαις τὴν Περσικὴν καταιγίδα, καὶ κεφαλὰς νόμων δυναστῶν διακόψαις, τὴν μαρτυρικὴν ἐπανατείνας κατ' αὐτῶν δεξιάν, καλῶς κραταιωθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων. Τάχα γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπαρχὴ θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτου γέγονας τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὅρων τῶν Περσικῶν τὸν μαρτυρικὸν ὑπέμεινας θάνατον, ἵν' ὥσπερ σεαυτῷ καὶ χριστιανοῖς ἐπαμύνων, ὧν καὶ πείρᾳ τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν ἐγνώκεις, ὅλην τρέψαις καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων τὴν ἄμυναν."

204 Niketas the Younger by Theodore Mouzalon (*BHG* 2302), 132, lines 121–132: "Πλὴν πονηρὸς ὢν ἐκεῖνος πονηροῦ μαθητὴς διδασκάλου, πλάττεται τῷ προσωπείῳ τῆς ἀπάτης παρενεῖραί που τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἀκρασίας… κλέπτειν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ χριστιανικῶν πειρώμενος νόμων, ὃν τρόπον καὶ Ἕλληνες πολλὰ τῆς τε Μωσαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ τῆς ἐς ὕστερον νομοθεσίας Χριστοῦ ὑπούλως ἅμα καὶ δολερῶς ἱεροσυλοῦντες τοῖς οἰκείοις συντάττειν ἐμηχανῶντο… ."

205 Ibid., 132–133, line 134–161.

206 Ibid., 136, lines 303–306.

207 Ibid., 142, lines 530–531.

208 Ibid., 152, lines 902–930.

In the martyrion on Theodore the Younger, in which the martyrdom takes place in Ottoman Melagina, the "other" is also the Persians, who ravaged the land of the Romans and took Theodore as a prisoner of war.[209] They are barbarians;[210] they are impious servers of Satan.

Byzantine literature from the twelfth to the fourteenth century used the term Persian and the Persian language to signify Seljuks of Anatolia. Nicolas Oikonomides argued that although the Byzantine authors of the twelfth century used the term Persian, they were aware of their difference from other Persians. In an article on the Byzantine Turks, Rustam Shukurov argued that it was not an archaizing act by the Byzantine authors but rather a common delusion that the Seljuks were Persian and spoke Persian. In a later book on the subject, Shukurov added a spatial element to the Byzantines' definition of a Persian. Accordingly, the transfer of the "Persian" identification to the Anatolian "Turks" stemmed from the Byzantines' geographical perspective, which considered the region east of Anatolia to be Persia and its habitants Persians. The Turks who invaded Anatolia in the eleventh century and who immigrated to Anatolia in the first half of the thirteenth century from Iran, Khurasan, and Transoxiana, all came from Persia according to the Byzantines. Thus, according to the locus of their origin, they were called Persians.[211]

In the text on Michael of Alexandria, Michael was enslaved during an attack by barbarians. The text does not talk about the people living in Egypt. It only says that Michael is taken prisoner and was in a shipwreck, where he fell to the powerful, dirty consecrations, worshipping, and most unholy nonsense of Muhammad. Metochites, however, blames Egypt, for having accepted the false belief of Muhammad.[212]

In the text on George of Adrianople, the rulers and the residents of Adrianople (Edirne) are the *Agarenoi*, the *Hagarenes*. The Byzantines used the term Agarenoi or Hagarenoi to refer to Arabs in the early and middle Byzantine periods and to Muslims in the late Byzantine period. The word derives from the biblical name of the mother of Ismail, Hagar (Hacer) (Genesis 16–18). In Judeo-Christian literature and in the Byzantine sources it refers to the "followers and

209 Theodore the Younger (*BHG* 2431), 216.

210 Ibid., 218, 219.

211 Nicolas Oikonomides. "The Turks in the Byzantine Rhetoric of the Twelfth Century," in *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Caesar E. Farah (Kirksville, MO, 1993), 150–151. See Rustam Shukurov, "The Byzantine Turks: An Approach to the Study of Late Byzantine Demography," in *L'Europa dopo la caduta di Constantinopoli: 29 maggio 1453* (Spoleto 2008), 102; Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks*, 37–42. Also see, Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 2 (Leiden 1983), 252–254.

212 On the dogmas of Muhammad, see martyrion on Michael of Alexandria, 671F, 672A.

descendants of Hagar," tracing the descent of the Arabs from Abraham and his slave wife Hagar.[213]

While the Muslim crowd denounced George's blasphemy to the hegemon, the latter is depicted as a fair man, who asks the soldiers to protect George from the angry crowd and who hands down the punishment of whipping, whereas the tasimanoi (the danişmends) and the descendants of the Prophet (seyyids) opposed the verdict and asked the hegemon to hand George over to them. The hegemon, being afraid of them, delivered George, and he was burned at the stake.

What is interesting in this text is the power of the danişmends and seyyids in Edirne and their religious zealousness. One should remember that the hero of the *Battalname* is called Seyyid Battal, because he is considered to be a descendant of Muhammad through his son–in–law Ali, and the hero of the *Danişmendname* is called Ahmed Danişmend, reflecting the education he received. Yet Seyyid Battal and Ahmed Danişmend are not depicted as religious men in the epics, which have been examined in Chapter one and they are represented as being quite inclusive on the frontier zones. Whereas the seyyids and danişmends in the city of Edirne are rigid in their understanding of how *zımmis* should act in a Muslim city and they insist that the hegemon should severely punish George.[214] They say that they came from the eastern provinces to preach and to spread the faith, but they see that the prophet for whom they have come to preach is being insulted in the marketplace without fear. They further let it be known that if they are in Constantinople, which is the glory of the Romans, or in elder Rome [Constantinople was considered to be the New Rome] or simply in a region of Christians, and they hear insults and similar things said against their prophet, they would murder him straightforward as a matter of honor. Yet, in their kingdom, where their people are thriving, they see the Christians acting against them.[215]

In this martyrion, the "other" is defined only in religious terms and is not represented by a homogenous group. While the political authority, the hegemon,

213 See Irfan Shadid, Alexandre P. Kazhdan, and Anthony Cutler, "Arabs," *ODB* 1:149. For the term's use in the Byzantine sources in relation to the Seljuks of Rum and the Ottomans, see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 2, 55. On the use of *Agarenoi* in the Byzantine sources, see Savvides, "Some Notes on *Agarenoi, Ismaelitai* and *Sarakenoi* in Byzantine Sources."

214 For dhimmi (*zımmi*), see Claude Cahen, "Dhimma," *EI*[2] 2:227–231. On the formation of classical model of *ahl al-dhimma* and how they functioned like any social group or microsociety in the much earlier Umayyad period, see Arietta Papaconstantinou, "Between *Umma* and *Dhimma*: The Christians of the Middle East under the Umayyads," *Annales islamologiques* 42 (2008): 127–156.

215 George of Andrinople (*BHG* 2160), 69–70, lines 110–121.

seems not to be so severe and expresses concern for George's safety, the religious men in the city of Edirne took quite a hard-line toward George's blasphemy. George, a zımmi breaches the social contract between Muslims and members of the revealed religions for obeisance with his blasphemy. The religious men remind the hegemon that it is now their kingdom in which the race of the Muslims grows, so the Christians who live there should act accordingly.

CHAPTER 3

Dervishes

The *Saltukname* is the last Turkish Muslim warrior epic in the chronological sequence of epics dealing with the conquest of the land of Rome.[1] Composed between 1473 and 1480 by a certain Ebu'l Hayr-i Rumi at the request of the Ottoman prince Cem (d. 1495),[2] it recounts the life and deeds of the legendary gazi dervish Sarı Saltuk (a warrior-dervish), who is believed to have followed Izzeddin Keykavus II, patron of the *Danişmendname*, into exile and to have become the leader of the first Turkish Muslim settlers in the Balkans.[3] As depicted in the *Saltukname*, Sarı Saltuk, in terms of his lifestyle, self-definition, and miraculous deeds, displays similarities to Abdalan-ı Rum dervishes, a group of Muslim ecstatic mystics who led anchoritic lives. These mystics—Baba İlyas, Hacı Bektaş, Hacım Sultan, Abdal Musa, and Otman Baba—began to arrive in Rum after the beginning of the thirteenth century.[4]

1 The earliest text is a sixteenth-century copy, dating to 1576. For the editions of the *Saltukname*, see İz and Tekin, *Saltukname*; Akalın, *Saltukname*. For a summary of the narrative, see Kemal Yüce, *Saltukname'de Tarihi, Dini ve Efsanevi Unsurlar* (Ankara 1987). On Sarı Saltuk, see Irène Mélikoff Sayar, "Qui était Sarı Saltuk? Quelques remarques sur les manuscrits du Saltukname," in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. Colin Imber and Colin Heywood (Istanbul 1994), 231–238; Machiel Kiel, "Sarı Saltuk," *TDVIA* 36: 147–150. For concise accounts in English, see Gary Leiser, "Sarı Saltuk Dede," *EI²* 9:61–62; Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Early Sufism in Eastern Anatolia," in *Persian Sufism: From Its Origins to Rumi*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (London 1994), 190–193. On Sarı Saltuk's links to the Crimea, see Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park, PA, 1994), 251–256. Also see Introduction 11n29.

2 Nicolas Vatin, *Sultan Djem: un prince ottoman dans l'Europe du XVe siècle d'après deux œuvres contemporaines: Vakı'at-ı Sultan Cem, Œuvres de Guillaume Caoursin* (Ankara 1997).

3 For Izzeddin Keykavus II and his exile in Constantinople and then in Dobrudja and Crimea, also see Chapter 1. For the analysis of the sources and of the historiography on the first Turkish Muslim settlements in the Balkans and in Dobrudja, see Paul Wittek, "Yazijioghli Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobrudja," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14, no. 2 (1952): 639–668; Aurel Decei, "Le problème de la colonisation des Turcs seljoukides dans la Dobrogea au XIIIe siècle," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 10–11 (1968): 85–111; Machiel Kiel, "The Türbe of Sarı Saltık in Babadag–Rumanian Dobrudja: Some Remarks on Its Historical Importance and Present Condition," *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4 (1978): 205–225.

4 There exists abundant literature on some of these dervishes. For the term abdal, also see Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Abdal, l'étrange destin d'un mot: Le problème abdal vu à travers les registres ottomans," *Turcica* 36 (2004): 37–90. Also see eadem, "Abdalan-ı Rum, historical,"

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The Abdalan-ı Rum consisted primarily of Kalenderi, Yesevi, Haydari, and Vefai dervishes, who coalesced around the Babai groups during the middle and end of the thirteenth century.[5] In the fourteenth century, they called themselves as Abdalan-ı Rum, or Rum Abdalları. By the sixteenth century, many of them had integrated into the Bektaşi order. Except for Baba İlyas's vita, written in the fourteenth century, the vitas of all the other dervishes were written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Abdal groups were of a militant character, which stemmed from their beliefs. According to their doctrine, the paramount principle is to reach out to and help the oppressed and helpless (*mazlum*), those who have left their home and wander about (*garib*), and the powerless (*miskin*). In this way, they believed that they would restore order and justice on Earth. Typically nomads and wanderers, they proclaimed to be against "those who oppressed people for their love of worldly possessions and vanity."[6]

EI[3], http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23820 (accessed May 24, 2019); For Abdalan-ı Rum literature, see Michael R. Heß, "Abdalan-ı Rum, literature," *EI*[3], http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_25751 (accessed September 30, 2018). For references to their vitas and relevant basic secondary literature, see the following: On Baba İlyas, see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *La révolte de Baba Resul ou la formation de l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Anatolie au XIIIe siècle* (Ankara 1989), and Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period* (Salt Lake City 1994). For the *menakıbname*s (vita) on Baba İlyas, Hacı Bektaş, Hacım Sultan, Abdal Musa, and Otman Baba, see the introduction in this volume. For an analysis of the vita on Otman Baba, see Halil İnalcık, "Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the Otman Baba Vilayetnamesi," in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, ed. Halil İnalcık (Bloomington 1993), 19–37. For select major references on the Bektaşi order, see Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, "Les origines du Bektachisme: essai sur le développement historique de l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Asie Mineure," *Actes du congrès international d'histoire des religions, Paris, octobre 1923* (1926); John Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (London 1937); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Der Bektaschi-Orden in Anatolien (vom späten fünfzehnten Jahrhundert bis 1826)* (Vienna 1981); Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Bektaşi menakıbnamelerinde İslam öncesi inanç motifleri* (Istanbul 1983); Alexandre Popovic and Gilles Veinstein, eds., *Bektachiyya: études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach* (Paris 1995); Ayfer Karakaya Stump, "The Wafa'iyya, the Bektashiyye and Genealogies of 'Heterodox' Islam in Anatolia: Rethinking the Köprülü Paradigm," *Turcica* 44 (2012–2013): 279–300; eadem, *Vefailik, Bektaşilik, Kızılbaşlık: Alevi Kaynaklarını, Tarihini ve Tarihyazımını Yeniden Düşünmek* (Istanbul 2015).

5 Babai is the name of a religio-social movement that riled the Turcoman centers of Asia Minor around 1239, a few years before the Mongol invasion of Asia Minor in 1243. The movement seems to have been of great importance in the history of the social and cultural development of the Turkish people in Asia Minor. Baba İlyas considered to have been the leader of the Babai revolt or movement. On Babai groups and movement, see Claude Cahen, "Babai," *EI*[2] 1:843–844. Also see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Babailik," *TDVIA* 4: 373–374; idem, *XIII. Yüzyılda Babailer İsyanı* (Istanbul 1980); idem, *La révolte de Baba Resul*.

6 İnalcık, "Dervish and Sultan," 24.

1 Sarı Saltuk, the Nomad Dervish

Sarı Saltuk is a hero, and like Seyyid Battal, the hero of the *Battalname*, he knows all the four books by heart. In contrast to Battal, however, Saltuk readily performs miracles and tricks to convince the infidels of his spiritual powers and to ultimately convert them to Islam. Seyyid Battal only rarely performs miracles. Like Ahmed Danişmend, hero of the *Danişmendname*, who is primarily in contact with military aristocracy and intrudes into the Byzantine aristocratic social space, Sarı Saltuk, is also in contact with governors (*tefür*, *tekfur*), lords and commanders (*mihal, ban*), and kings (*kıral*), has frequent contact with priests and monks (*ruhban, rahip, papaz, keşiş*) and he has especially frequent contacts with the Byzantine emperor (*tekfur*) in Constantinople, and the pope (*pap*) who are both considered to be the leaders of the infidels in the *Saltukname*.

Yet contrary to Ahmed Danişmend, Sarı Saltuk conquers not only territories but also triumphs over souls in churches and monasteries. He is not just a warrior, he is also a dervish, and hence the conqueror of the physical as well as the spiritual world. With Sarı Saltuk's goal appearing to be the establishment of the political hegemony of Islam, the *Saltukname* narrative concentrates on his contacts with holders of political, military, and religious power, and only a few encounters with common people. Saltuk converts people of power and authority to the "right religion" by persuasion, ruse, force, miracle, or sword.[7]

Contrary to Ahmed Danişmend, Saltuk's contacts with the Byzantine aristocrats and clergy and his intrusion into the political and religious space of Rum is not, however, presented as a sincere act of forming an alliance, but rather as trickery, fooling the infidels. He enters churches and monasteries disguised as a priest or monk. For instance, one day Sarı Saltuk goes to meet the tekfur and the pap and introduces himself as the son of a Serbian priest. As he takes the pulpit to read from the Bible, all the clergymen, including the pap, along with the tekfur, burst into tears.[8]

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7 Karamustafa, "Islamisation through the Lens of the Saltuk-name," 359.

8 For several instances of intrusions of Sarı Saltuk into the religious space of the infidels, see ibid., 354–358. Akalın, *Saltukname*, 1:35–37. While in the *Danişmendname,* the trickster does not play an important role, in the *Battalname* and in the *Saltukname,* trickery is recognized as an essential quality of the heroes. Seyyid Battal and Sarı Saltuk repeat the motto, "Nakildür kim erlik ondur, tokuzı hile, " (Nine-tenths of bravery is trickery). See Dedes, *Battalname*, 2:421, line A114; Akalın, *Saltukname*, 3:138, line T455. Trickery also seems to be a common method used by the Byzantines, who are scorned by their enemies because of it. On Byzantine trickery, see Jonathan Shepard, "Information, Disinformation and Delay in Byzantine Diplomacy," *BF* 10 (1995): 242–243.

There is much more emphasis on religion in this epic than in the other two epics. This may stem from the nature of the protagonist, the warrior-dervish Sarı Saltuk, but it also appears to be connected to the post-thirteenth-century Byzantium, as the Byzantine church worked to retain its prestige and influence throughout the Orthodox world.[9] As noted in Chapter 2 in the discussion on heyschast patriarchs, during this period the church pushed for a common set of values, promoted political and cultural priorities inherited from Byzantium, and promoted the universalism of Orthodox Christianity in the face of military and political challenges from the east and the west. Hence along with military conquest, a religious missionary zeal is evident in the *Saltukname*, which allows Sarı Saltuk to enter the political and cultural spaces of Rum.

Saltuk's attitude toward urban spaces is also different from that of Ahmed Danişmend and Seyyid Battal. Danişmend and Battal were born in urban environments, and Danişmend receives his education in a city. Although Danişmend does not remain in cities for long periods and ventures outside city walls, his absence from urban spaces is driven by his restless zeal for new military conquests. Yet he trusts in cities and city dwellers. He leaves his wife and his retinue in a city. In the *Battalname* and the *Danişmendname*, the city is not just a fortress town, but also a place of gardens and orchards at its outer reaches. Although most of the action takes place outside the cities, on the frontiers, Ahmed Danişmend plays an important role in the transformation of the Christian urban landscape into a Muslim one.[10]

Saltuk on the other hand is a nomad. The *Saltukname*, in terms of its Turcoman social space, is closer to the *Book of Dedem Korkut,* but Sarı Saltuk's social background, his attitudes toward the land of Rome, and his relations with the infidels are radically different from those of the heroes of the *Book of Dedem Korkut*, which is devoted to the deeds of the beg class, of whom nearly eighty of whose members appear in the Oghuz epic. The only commoner to break social barriers and assume a distinctly prominent role in the action is Karacuk, the shepherd.[11] So great are his valor and loyalty that his master, Kazan, must ultimately accept him as a comrade-in-arms.[12]

The hero of the *Saltukname* is also a shepherd, as well as a warrior-dervish, who pays no loyalty or obeisance to a beg but assists rulers and khans on

9 *Le Patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople et Byzance hors-frontierès.* Also see Chapter 2, on the hesychast patriarchs.

10 Demir, *Danişmendname*, 1:65, line 76b; 86, line 104b; 129, line 160a; 153, line 194a.

11 Tezcan and Boeschoten, *Dede Korkut Oğuznameleri*, 51–61.

12 Sümer, Uysal, and Walker, *The Book of Dede Korkut, xv.*

equal terms. He usually acts alone and sometimes gathers other warrior–shepherds and warriors around him. The Oghuz begs of the *Book of Dedem Korkut* are interested in plundering and raiding. "Gaza" does not seem to be driven by religious zeal but rather to obtain wealth and honor, and most significant, to project the aggressive energy of the nomadic warriors toward infidel lands.[13] Sarı Saltuk on the other hand is filled with religious zeal and the mission of bringing the land of Rome, and indeed the whole world, into the abode of Islam.

Saltuk travels with his herd of goats and sheep, which form his economic base, complemented by booty from gaza activities within a borderless geography. He receives goats and sheep as gifts from his allies. For instance, Tatar Khan gives him twenty-four thousand sheep (*koyun*) and goats (*keçi*). He appears to own an incredible amount of livestock. Even his dreams are full of sheep. In a dream in which he foresees the conquest of Rum by the Aydın emirate, the prophecy is revealed to him symbolically as herds of sheep, which occupy every part of Rum and do not run away when Saltuk tries to caress them.[14] The infidel priests are usually depicted as owning herds of pigs (*bir sürü tonızları varıdı*). Saltuk turns the priests and their pigs as well as their dogs into stone.[15]

The dervish hero conquers cities, but keeps his distance from them, with the exception of entering Edirne and Konstantiniyye (Constantinople). The friction between the nomad Saltuk and the city dwellers is not between a Turkish Muslim nomad and Byzantine or Christian city dwellers, but rather with the nomad Saltuk and Muslim urban dwellers in Muslim-ruled cities. The Muslim residents usually make fun of Saltuk, calling him *delü*, the crazy one.[16] He resides in the countryside when he does not travel with his sheep and goats and around the area in which he resides, a dervish lodge is founded around which villages are formed. The mescids and mosques are mostly built in these rural settlements. His repeated miracles of turning bitter water sweet and bringing water from the mountains to the cities convey his closeness to the countryside.[17]

Water plays a prominent role in the narrative of the *Saltukname*. In the story of Edirne, narrated by a priest, holy water and water sources (*pınar*/*bınar*),

13 Tezcan and Boeschoten, *Dede Korkut Oğuznameleri*, 97–98.

14 Akalın, *Saltukname*, 2:106, line B45.

15 Ibid., 2:31–32, line T248; 36, line T251.

16 Ibid., 1:47–48, lines M35.

17 For examples in the narrative where Saltuk brings water to the city, see Akalın, *Saltukname*, 2:33, line T250; 37, line B6.

especially the ones flowing within churches, feature in importance.[18] The major settings of the *Saltukname*'s narrative space are dominated by mountains and rivers, of note the Alborz Mountains (Elburz Tağı, Kûh-i Elburz), Urgaç Tağı, Argaç Tağı, Kûh-i Argaç, Macar Tağı (Mount of Hungary), Nile, Euphrates (Fırat), Amu Darya (Ceyhun), and Syr Darya (Seyhun), Danube (Tuna), and Aksu/Umak Suyu. There are also various unnamed mountains and rivers and other water sources.

Sarı Saltuk's attitude with regard to cities has similarities with other Abdalan-ı Rum dervishes as depicted in their vitas. The activities of Baba İlyas, Hacı Bektaş, Hacım Sultan, Abdal Musa, and Otman Baba mostly take place in rural settings. All of them approach cities and city dwellers with a certain amount of caution, like Sarı Saltuk. Some of the dervishes, including Otman Baba, are nomads, and some, like Hacı Bektaş and Hacım Sultan, have nomadic origins but settle in a village or in the countryside outside a city. When they approach a city, they prefer to stay in a cave or in the wilderness just outside the urban area.

For Hacım Sultan, a shepherd and an abdal, the infidels (küffar) are both the Muslim rulers and the inhabitants of the cities (*şehirli taifesi*), who do not have faith or confidence in the dervish and make fun of him.[19] In the *Velayetname-i Otman Baba,* the "other," the küffar, are also Muslim city dwellers, which include the members of the central administration in the cities, such as the government representative of a city quarter (*kethüda*), the person responsible for the maintenance of order in the city (*subaşı*), and the judge (*kadı*), as well as religious authorities, such as high Muslim functionaries (ulema), the descendants of Prophet Muhammad (seyyids), and danişmends.[20]

The city dwellers and the civilian and religious authorities in the Ottoman Edirne perceive Otman Baba and his abdals as a major source of disturbance and look down at them. Otman Baba tries to convince them of his divine power by "instilling fear in their hearts."[21] To that end, he hits them with his club; hampers the water supply to the public baths (*hamam*), razes trees in and around cities, destroys city gardens and vineyards, and damages marketplaces. To further annoy them, he swims naked in the river that flows through the city

18 Ibid., 2:54, line B15.

19 Tschudi, *Das Vilajet-name des Hadschim Sultan*, ٢٦ (44–45 German trans.), ٢٨ (46–47 German translation), ٤١(49), ٤٧ (56).

20 On the ulema, see Mehmet İpşirli, "İlmiye," *TDVIA* 22:141–145. Also see Uriel Heyd and E. Kuran, "İlmiye," *EI*[2] 3:1152–1154.

21 For the place of fear in Sufi doctrine and in Otman Baba's *Velayetname,* see İnalcık, "Dervish and Sultan," 20.

and drinks the dirty water of the hamams.[22] There is a mutual dislike between the city dwellers of Edirne and Otman Baba.[23] Despite this, Otman Baba insists on returning to the city. At one point, he goes to the city with the gazi Ali Beg and at another to declare that he is the Truth, Ene'l Hak.[24] In the *Velayetname* on Otman Baba, Edirne is cursed as the "vile world" (*alçak dünya*).[25] Apart from Otman Baba's particular dislike of Edirne, his attitude toward cities and city life can also clearly be seen in his conversation with the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II. He reminds the monarch (*padişah*) that he himself is the divine authority of this world and beyond, while Mehmed II is merely a city dweller (*şehirli*).[26]

In a similar vein, in the *Menakıbü'l-Kudsiyye*, which is the vita of Baba İlyas, a Turcoman dervish from Khurasan, who came to Anatolia with the second wave of Turkish Muslim migrations in the thirteenth century during the Mongol invasions and revolted against the Seljuk authorities in 1239–1240,[27] the "other" is not non-Muslims, but city dwellers, specifically Muslim city administrators, for example, the officially appointed interpreter of the şeriat (*müfti*), the chief teacher and administrator of madrasa (*müderris*), and the kadı. They all accuse Baba İlyas of having claims of coveting the Seljuk throne.[28] These

22 Kılıç, Arslan, and Bülbül, *Otman Baba Velayetnamesi,* 55, line AG27; 72, line C59; 83, line C66; 119, lines AG53 and C89; 130, lines C96 and AG58; 162, lines C124 and AG74.

23 Ibid., 158–163.

24 Ibid., 171–172, 180–181. The ulema in Edirne send a letter to Sultan Mehmed II complaining about Otman's claims. See ibid., 189–193. "Ene'l Hak" translates as "I am the True." It is the statement for which Mansur al-Hallaj (d. 922), a controversial writer and teacher of Islamic mysticism, was condemned to death. Hallaj did not mean that he was God, but that he had attained a level of consciousness that allowed him to realize that he was nothing and that all existence was God. For Mansur al-Hallaj, see Ahmet T. Karamustafa and Jonathan Allen, *Husayn Ibn Mansur al-Hallaj* (Oxford 2015). For a bibliography on Hallaj, see Ahmet T. Karamustafa and Jonathan Allen, "Husayn ibn Mansur al-Hallaj," *Oxford Bibliographies,* http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195390155/obo-9780195390155-0222.xml (accessed July 5, 2018).

25 Kılıç, Arslan, and Bülbül, *Otman Baba Velayetnamesi,* 258.

26 Ibid., 253, lines C199–C200.

27 Not much is known on Baba İlyas before his arrival to Anatolia. His revolt took place mainly in Central Anatolia around Amasya, Tokat, Kırşehir, and Konya. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak argues that Hacı Bektaş and Şeyh Edebali (the son-in-law of Osman I) were the disciples of Baba İlyas. Erünsal and Ocak, *Menakıbu'l Kudsiyye*, lxvi, 168–169. His name is mentioned as Baba Resul and not as Baba İlyas in the historical sources. The vita was written by his great-grandson Elvan Çelebi (d. after 1359) in 1358–1359. On the revolt, also see Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "La 'révolte' des Baba'i en 1240, visait-elle vraiment le renversement du pouvoir seldjoukide?" *Turcica* 30 (1998): 99–117.

28 On Köre Kadı, one of Baba Resul's main opponents, see Erünsal and Ocak, *Menakibu'l-Kudsiyye*, 32, lines 360–365; 40, lines 459–463; 70, lines 786–796. On müfti and müderris opposing Baba Resul, see ibid., 42, lines 481–482.

opponents are called *kafir*. What makes one an infidel, according to the text, was opposition to and rejection of Baba İlyas's *vilayet* (sainthood).[29] The numerous "pagans"—Jews (Cuhud) and Christians (Nasrani)—of the fortress of Gevele, near Konya, who welcomed Baba İlyas and his followers, for example, are not considered to be infidels (küffar).[30]

A similar caution toward urban settlements and their residents can be seen in the vita of Hacı Bektaş, who never enters the city of Kırşehir, but instead remains on the outskirts and meets people from the city there.[31] His attitude continues until Ahi Evran, a disciple of Hacı Bektaş, arrives from Kayseri, settles in Kırşehir, and invites him to his place in the city. Hacı Bektaş then enters the city and stays in Ahi Evran's dervish lodge.[32] This moment marks a change in his vita in the social profile of Hacı Bektaş's followers, who until then had been villagers and merchants. With Hacı Bektaş's entrance into the city, the urban dignitaries begin to accept his spiritual authority.[33] In a similar fashion, Hacı Bektaş only enters the city of Kayseri with one of his disciples, Bostancı Çelebi.[34] These stories probably relate to the urbanization of the Bektaşi order and the recognition of its authority within the cities.

In rural settings, including the ones in the *Saltukname*, there are almost no encounters between non-Muslims and Turkish Muslim individuals or groups. Hacı Bektaş's main concern, as depicted in the *Velayetname*, is to impose his authority over the dervishes who had arrived and settled in Rum before him. He is rather interested in converting the Tatars to Islam.[35] The infidels with whom Hacı Bektaş becomes involved are usually people who live on the frontiers of the abode of Islam or outside it; the infidels of Bedahşan (Badakhshan)

29 Ibid., 45–46, lines 520–525. In the religious context of Islam, the terms *velayet* and *vilayet* are translated interchangeably as "sainthood," but sainthood does not render the same meaning in Islamic use as it does in Christianity. A *veli Allah* designates a close friend, or intimate, of God. The term in the Qur'an means "manager," or protector or intercessor. The veli possesses both velayet and vilayet at the same time. Velayet refers to everything that the şeyh or shaykh imparts to his disciples and to other people about God. The vilayet of the veli, however, is what takes place between the shaykh and God. This is a special kind of love that the shaykh takes with him when he leaves this world. Not all velis were Sufis, but the saints' cults and the spread of the Sufi brotherhoods began to converge in the twelfth century. On the terms *veli*, *velayet,* and *vilayet,* see Vincent J. Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin 1998), xvii–xliv, xix–xx.

30 Erünsal and Ocak, *Menakıbu'l-Kudsiyye*, 79, lines 891–894.

31 Duran, *Velayetname*, 387, line 83; 405, line 88.

32 Ibid., 407, line 89.

33 Ibid., 407–411, lines 89–90.

34 Ibid., 519, line 117.

35 For the conversion of Tatar rulers, see ibid., 480–514, lines 107–115.

whom he converts to Islam before his arrival to Rum;[36] and a crypto-Muslim monk outside the abode of Islam to whom he sends flour because there has been a drought.[37] Hacı Bektaş's disciples engage in converting infidel rulers only on the frontiers of the abode of Islam, such as in Georgia,[38] or in Tavas-Denizli[39] and Beşkarış.[40]

There is only one story featuring the contact of Hacı Bektaş with a Christian, who is a resident in the abode of Islam: One day on a road, Hacı Bektaş comes across a Christian (zımmi) woman, from the Christian village of Sineson in Cappadocia. The woman offers him some cheap rye bread and apologizes that she is unable to offer him some of better quality, made of wheat. Hacı Bektaş rewards her hospitality with a miracle, turning all rye in the village of Sineson to wheat. The Christians of the village do not convert to Islam but begin to pay respect to Hacı Bektaş by bringing goods and animals for sacrifice to his lodge every year.[41]

In the vitas of Hacım Sultan and Abdal Musa, in which movements are set against a rural backdrop, interactions with non-Muslims are also minimal. When Abdal Musa settles in the Teke region, the dervishes building his lodge find a treasure belonging to the infidels "who arrive from the sea." The dervishes will hand the treasure to infidels who visit the area.[42] Once in the narrative, a kafir from the region brings wine to Abdal Musa, who miraculously turns it into honey, which in return results in the infidel's conversion.[43] There are no infidels or conversions in the *Vilayetname-i Otman Baba*. In fact, all Otman Baba's activities take place in the abode of Islam, which had already been conquered from the infidels.

2 Land of Rome

In the *Saltukname*, the land of Rome, loosely designated as Rum and Rum İli, and the Romans, Rumis, play central roles. The information provided in the *Saltukname* references to the post-thirteenth-century Byzantine realm during which the empire was a fragmented, diminished and increasingly less

36 Ibid., 132–156, lines 20–26. Bedehşan is in northeastern Afghanistan.
37 Ibid., 367–372, lines 79–80.
38 Ibid., 355–356, line 76.
39 Ibid., 564–567, lines 128–129.
40 Ibid., 602–606, lines 138–139.
41 Duran, *Velayetname*, 200–203, lines 37–38. Duran reads "Sineson" as "Silineson."
42 Güzel, *Abdal Musa Velayetnamesi*, 141, lines 3–4.
43 Ibid., 145–146, lines 10–11.

resourceful. "Rum" applies to four territories. The first is a constricted space—the city of Constantinople—which is under the authority of the Byzantine emperor, who is not referred to as Kayser/Kaysar, as in the *Battalname* and *Danişmendname,* but is instead called tekfur most often Konstantiniyye tekfuru (the tekfur of Constantinople), reflecting the limits of his territorial authority. The text mentions that tekfur hails from the family of Kayser Harkil,[44] probably the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (r. 610–641), who according to the text was a crypto-Muslim.[45] One can assume that for the author of the *Saltukname*, the nomenclature used for the rulers reflects the amount of territory they directly control.

The second Rum is closer to the image of a Christian Roman oikoumene, or the "Byzantine commonwealth," consisting of various territories under the rulers of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Laz or Sırf İli (Serbia), Morina (Morea?), Eflak (Wallachia), and Boğdan (Moldavia). Although these regions are not under the direct control of the tekfur of Constantinople, in the *Saltukname* their rulers recognize tekfur as their kayser, as their emperor. They come and kiss the tekfur's hand and inform him about the military and political developments taking place in their realms.[46] For instance, when Sarı Saltuk kills the sultan of the Serbs and commits atrocities in Sırf İli, the land of the Serbs, the news is immediately sent to the tekfur in Constantinople.[47] The Rus are sometimes considered to be part of the religious and cultural space of the Christian Roman

44 Akalın, *Saltukname*, 1:85, line T52: "Na-gah Kayser oğlı-kim Tekür'e Kayser dirler idi."

45 On Harkil, see Akalın, *Saltukname,* 1:97, line T60; 143–146; 260, line M196. The text correctly states that Heraclius reigned during the caliphate of Ömer /Umar (r. 634–644). These were the last years of Heraclius's reign and the period of the Arab invasions of Byzantine lands. Heraclius is the most frequently mentioned Byzantine emperor in the Muslim sources. He is also the only Byzantine emperor who garnered the overwhelming approval of Muslim chroniclers and historians, who bestow upon him the distinguished attributes and abilities of leadership, courage, honesty, piety, justice, and magnanimity, considering him someone who recognized the prophetic signs attributed to Muhammad. In the Islamic tradition, Heraclius has the dual role of "recognizer" and near convert to Islam. According to Nadia Maria El-Cheikh, the exaltation of Heraclius in the Islamic sources, or the "Islamization" of the emperor, stands as a legitimizing device for Muhammad and for his umma. For Heraclius in Arabic and Muslim literature and on his "crypto-Muslim" nature, see Nadia Maria El-Cheikh, "Muhammad and Heraclius: A Study in Legitimacy," *Studia Islamica* 89 (1999): 5–21; eadem, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs* (Cambridge 2004), 39–54; also see Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 52; Walter E. Kaegi, *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge 2003), 235–237.

46 Akalın, *Saltukname*, 2:49–50, line B13.

47 Ibid., 1:76, line T46: "Teküre haber salup İstanbul'da bildürdiler. Başlu başına bunlar Tekür olmışlardı. İlla Kayser yirinde İstanbul Tekürin görürlerdi. Çün bu haber Tekür-i kebir'e yitişdi Tekür matem dutdı, oturdı."

oikoumene. They are also at times presented as part of the third Rum, that is, the greater historical Roman lands in the West. Several political entities in this regard are Üngürüs (Hungary), Alaman (country of the Germanic people), Leh/Lih (Poles), and Çeh/Çih (Czech country).[48]

The fourth Rum is a geopolitical space under Turkish Muslim rule at the time of the narrative. Although clear-cut borders of this fourth Rum are not mentioned, it basically corresponds to Asia Minor and the Balkans, a zone that Turkish Muslim groups inhabited and in large part also governed. In the text, this is separate from Acem (Persian land) and from Arab Diyarı (Arab land). Baghdad and Egypt are not part of it either. The northern entrance to Rum İli is the region of Harcenevan (which includes Amasya and Sinop). The western entrance is adjacent to the territories of the Firenk (Franks).[49]

The territory of the Firenks is called Filyon İli or Pap İli (Pope's land). Pap (the Pope) is identified as the ruler of the Franks.[50] Pap İli is also called Firançe Diyarı (French land). Within Pap İli, there is a part called Latin Diyarı (Latin land), which includes Milan, Espan (Spain), Gedlan (Catalan), Cinevis (Genoa), Bortıgal/Fartugal/Portıgal (Portugal), and Firankal (the country of the Franks). Sarı Saltuk visits the Latin lands while disguised as a merchant.[51]

48 Ibid., 1:24, M17: "Tekür emr itdi Rum beğlerine- kim anlar yidi kıral idi-bindiler. Evvel Eflak kıralı sonra Üngürüs kıralı ve Alman kıralı ve As kıralı ve Lih kıralı ve Çih kıralı ve Rus kıralı ve Cesar kıralı."

49 On the river separating Acem and Rum, see Akalın, *Saltukname*, 1:364, line M268, and on Arab lands, see ibid., 1:315–333. In Ottoman parlance from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, the Arab lands are often considered to begin in Syria (Sham/Şam), but the boundary between Şam and Rum is vague. Malatya was conceived as a referential point on the border of Şam and Rum, while Aleppo and Aintab were considered to be in Şam. Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own," 17. On Baghdad and Egypt not being part of Rum, see Akalın, *Saltukname*, 1:2, line M1: "Bağdad'ı alub Rum'a gelüp, Rum'i yüriyüp, denizi geçüp dahı kafirleri birbirine urdılar… Acem'de ve Mısr'da Sultan Tahir hilafete cülus idüp, reis-i saltanatda olup, kul Mısr'a hükm itdi." On Harcenevan being the northern entry of Rum, see ibid., 3:256, MK 111. Harcane in the *Battalname* is identified with the Byzantine citadel of Charsianon. Harşana in the *Danişmendname* is identified with Amasya. In the *Saltukname*, the story of Sarı Saltuk begins in the infidel land of Harcenevan (Diyar-ı Harcana), and Amasya and Sinop are said to be located within its territory. On the western entry to Rum being adjacent to the land of Franks, see ibid., 1:88, M65, T54: "'Filyon Firenk ilidür. Pap dirler oldur,' didi. Şerif eyitti, 'Rum mülki bu yire yakın mıdur?' didi. Eyitdi 'İkisi sınırdaşlardur. Bizim ilden çıkınca ana varılur.'"

50 According to Ahmet Karamustafa, the term *Filyon* is most likely used to refer to a Frankish king. Karamustafa, "Islamisation through the Lens of the Saltukname," 355n19 and 359. On Pap and his being the ruler of the Franks, see Akalın, *Saltukname,* 1:16–17, 23, 26, 29, 35, 57, 92–93.

51 Akalın, *Saltukname*, 1:99, line M73: "Andan Şerif dahı Pap birle veda idüp bazergan suretinde azm-i Latin itdi. Firançe diyarına geldi. Andan seyr idüp Milan, Espan, Gedlan Cinevis ve Fırankal bunları gezüp azm-i Latin diyarı idüp gitdi."

Sarı Saltuk foresees that two Turkish Muslim emirates, the Aydın emirate and the Ottomans, will eventually defeat the Latin infidels. The Crusades against the Aydın and the Ottoman emirates to curb their advance into the West, positioned the pope and the Franks as the Sarı Saltuk's main opponents in the *Saltukname*.[52] Analyzed against this background, although Rum and Rumis hold prominent roles in the *Saltukname,* the real opposition comes from the Latin West. Rum is no longer the ultimate desire of the hero. Constantinople's conquest is considered essential to securing "Darü'l İslam" (abode of Islam),[53] but Sarı Saltuk, who views himself as the world conqueror, has ambitions far beyond Rum.

In the *Saltukname*, most of the land of Rome (i.e., Asia Minor and the Balkans) has been conquered by the Muslim Turks, while Constantinople and its zone of influence, in other words the Christian Roman oikoumene, remains in the hands of the tekfur of Constantinople and in the hands of the Orthodox Christian rulers who pay respect and obedience to him. Yet, Sarı Saltuk has ambitions far beyond Rhomania, the land under the political authority of the Byzantine emperor, and the broader Christian Roman oikoumene. Saltuk wants to conquer Pap İli, India, China, Arab Diyarı, the entire known world and beyond. The *Saltukname* can be read as an alternative universalist ideology challenging the claims of Mehmed II and later Ottoman rulers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who based their universalist claims on the possession of Constantinople. It points to the leading role of Edirne as the center of gazi circles that set out to conquer not only Rum İli, but the entire physical world and spiritual realm. The obvious hostility toward the city of Constantinople in the *Saltukname* can be interpreted within the context of opposition by frontier lords, gazis, and dervishes to the centralization policies of the Ottoman state, which were augmented after the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans.[54]

52 On the crusades against the Aydın emirate and the Ottomans, see Mike Carr, *Merchant Crusades in the Aegean, 1291–1352* (Suffolk 2015); Liviu Pilat and Ovidiu Cristea, *Naval leagues: The Ottoman Threat and Crusading on the Eastern Border of Christendom* (Leiden 2018).

53 Giovanna Calasso and Giuliano Lancioni, eds., *Dar al–islam / Dar al–harb: Territories, Peoples, Identities* (Leiden 2017).

54 According to Cemal Kafadar, the pro-Edirne attitude in the *Saltukname* was the expression of the frontier warlords or gazis' dismay at the ascendancy of a slave dominated central administration in Istanbul. In addition, the gazis felt that they were not getting a fair return for their services from the central government, so to them, the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans represented the final blow to their autonomy. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 148–149.

The *Saltukname* suggests that Sarı Saltuk does not receive his legitimacy for world domination through the conquest of Constantinople. His military and spiritual activities extend far beyond the Roman lands. In addition to his conquests in northwestern Asia Minor and the Balkans and on the Crimean coast, his military exploits and travels take him to every region around the Mediterranean basin, the Horn of Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, South and Central Asia. Specifically, he travels to Mecca, Jeddah, Yemen, Oman, Mount Sinai, Aden, Alexandria, India, Turkestan, China, Ethiopia, Portugal, Morocco, and Tunisia. He passes into Spain to help the Muslims in Andalusia who are oppressed by the infidels.[55] He goes to Portugal, Milan, Venice, and Genoa, where he converts the Genoese but allows them to remain crypto-Muslims.[56] He visits Egypt and Jerusalem, which he saves from the Franks who are led by the lord of Cyprus.[57] He goes to Damascus, visits the Kaaba in Mecca, and confronts the Portuguese in the Straits of Gibraltar.[58] He conquers Chios, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Crete. (Map 10)

Sarı Saltuk also travels to mystical subterranean and extra-terrestrial domains, such as Mount Qaf, where he comes across images of Alexander the Great (İskender-i Rumi) and of his viziers engraved in stones.[59] He goes to the country ruled by Sinbad.[60] While the episodes involving northwestern Asia Minor, the Balkans, and the Crimean coastal regions of the Black Sea include substantial historical references, when Sarı Saltuk travels to faraway lands, the stories take on more of a fairytale character, with him encountering genies, giants, witches, dragons, fairies, winged monsters, and a phoenix, who are identified as Muslims or infidels.[61]

Sarı Saltuk's conquests defy space and time. He appears in various places during different periods as the leader of each Muslim confrontation with the infidels beginning with the time of Seyyid Battal, the hero of the *Battalname.* An uninterrupted lineage is established among the gazis of the past, present, and future through which rule over Roman lands become a temporal historical right that cannot be "reduced" to the conquest of Constantinople. From Seyyid Battal, the line goes on to Ahmed Danişmend (the gazis of the past), continues with Sarı Saltuk (the gazi of the present in the narrative's setting), and ends

55 For Sarı Saltuk's visit to Spain, see Akalın, *Saltukname*, 3:81, line T421 and 2: 83–85.
56 Ibid., 3:73, line T416.
57 Ibid., 3:88.
58 For the sixteenth-century confrontation of the Ottomans with the Portuguese, see Özbaran, "Ottomans as 'Rumes' in Portuguese Sources."
59 Akalın, *Saltukname*, 1:119–120.
60 Ibid., 1:383, line M283.
61 Ibid., 1:101–138, 299–303, 360.

with Osman I of the Ottomans and Umur Beg of Aydın (the gazis of the future), whose coming and conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans Sarı Saltuk foresees in his dreams. Gazis are the crucial factor in the conquests of the infidel lands, and Sarı Saltuk serves as their spiritual and military leader in the period of the narrative's setting. Without him, gaza goes astray. Hence in the *Saltukname*, whenever Sarı Saltuk leaves for adventures among the genies and witches, the infidels retake the lands that the Muslims had conquered.

The obsession with geography and Sarı Saltuk's restless roaming through the physical and mystical worlds relates to the universal gazi ideology set out in the *Saltukname*, that is, the ambition of turning the entirety of the known physical world and beyond into the abode of Islam. Although the narrative weaves around a historical core roughly dating to the middle two quarters of the thirteenth century and set primarily in northwestern Asia Minor and the southeastern European and Crimean coastal regions of the Black Sea, the ideology can be interpreted within the context of the expansionist ambitions and policies of the Ottoman sultans of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. (Map 9) While the Ottomans' growing interest in geography and in world maps related to the self-perception of the sultans' after the conquest of Constantinople as the rulers of a worldwide empire, the focus on geography in the *Saltukname* offers an alternative claim to world domination of the fifteenth-century and sixteenth century gazi milieu.[62]

62 A connection between the study of geography and universalism and imperialism is also discernible in Byzantium in the second half of the ninth century and the tenth and twelfth centuries, periods of renewed military and diplomatic offensives by the empire. Angelov, "Asia and Europe Commonly Called East and West," 48. A similar connection can be attested between Ottoman sultans' interest in world maps in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For Ottoman-era world maps, and in regard to them, the importance attached to the Roman lands (Bilad al-Rum), see Karen Pinto, "The Maps Are the Message: Mehmet II's Patronage of an 'Ottoman Cluster,'" *Imago Mundi* 63, no. 2 (2011): 155–179; eadem, "'Surat Bahr al-Rum' (Picture of the Sea of Byzantium): Possible Meanings Underlying the Forms," in *Eastern Mediterranean Cartographies: The Cartography of the Mediterranean World*, ed. George Tolias and Dimitris Loupis (Athens 2004), 234–241; Pınar Emiralioğlu, "Relocating the Center of the Universe: China and the Ottoman Imperial Project in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 39 (2012): 161–187. For the Ottomans and their imperialist universal claims, which were based on the appropriation and synthesis of three traditions of universal sovereignty—Islamic, Turco-Mongol, and Byzantine—see Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 272–292; Fatma Müge Göçek, "The Social Construction of an Empire: Ottoman State under Sülayman the Magnificent," in *Sülayman the Second and His Time* (Istanbul 1993), 93–108; Andrew C.S. Peacock, "The Ottoman Empire and Its Frontiers," in *Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, ed. Andrew C.S. Peacock (Oxford 2009), 11 and 15.

In contrast to the Ottoman claim of world domination upon the conquest of Constantinople, Edirne is presented as the center for the gazis, thus playing a crucial role in gaza and their world domination.[63] Ebu'l-Hayr-i Rumi in fact informs readers and listeners that he has compiled the stories of Sarı Saltuk upon the request of Prince Cem, whose wish, should he become the sultan one day, is to make Edirne his residence.[64] The history of Edirne is told to Sarı Saltuk by a priest who has consulted Assyrian books that reveal that the city was founded by Prophet Noah and was reconstructed by Alexander the Great. The priest predicts that after the death of Sarı Saltuk, the city will fall twice into the hands of the infidels, and then the Muslims will take it and keep it in their possession forever.[65]

The author warns the audience about the fate awaiting Constantinople after its conquest by the Ottomans. Accordingly, the Ottoman sultans residing in Constantinople will neglect gaza and hence destroy the country. Although Sarı Saltuk in his dream anticipates the Ottoman conquest of the city by presenting Sultan Mehmed II the key to the city, he also orders him to return to Edirne after entering Constantinople, as Edirne should remain the sultans' residence.[66] According to a priest from Constantinople, not only is the air of Constantinople heavy,[67] but the city will be destroyed by an earthquake, and only the Hagia Sophia Church will survive.[68]

Although Constantinople is defamed, and the sultans are warned against taking up residence there, the city is acknowledged as the pillar of the infidels, and the importance attached to the city's possession in order to secure Islam in Rum İli is emphasized.[69] Constantinople is the only city in the narrative where the reader or audience is taken for a stroll. Although many city names are mentioned, Sarı Saltuk does not enter them or have contacts there. No information is offered on the inner life and workings of the cities. Rather, they are essentially points on a map used to illustrate the vast geographical areas conquered by Sarı Saltuk. Even the information on Edirne is less than that on Constantinople.

63 Akalın, *Saltukname*, 2:241–242, line T 392: "Kala-i Endriyye'ye dursun, zira gaziler ocağıdır. Gazaya andan özge yir olmaz. Bu dünya yüzük gibidir, hatemun nigini gibidir Rum-ili ve ol niginin ortası Endriyyedir."

64 Ibid., 3:366, line B228.

65 Ibid., 2:53–55. On the history of Edirne (Adrin), also see ibid., 1:30.

66 Ibid., 3:366–367.

67 Ibid., 2:112: "Saltuk ben Alyon rahibem Firengistan'da oluram. Bundan geldüm hasta oldum bu şehrün havası benü urdı, yüreğim ağrur."

68 Ibid., 2:244.

69 Akalın, *Saltukname*, 3:184, line MK43.

Sarı Saltuk enters Constantinople disguised as a Frankish priest.[70] He visits the tekfur in his palace and converts his daughter to Islam. He fights in the Hippodrome against two Rumis and converses with a priest in a church in the Hippodrome. He strolls down to the Kadırga port and through a door there he accesses the walls of Constantinople, walks along them and climbs up the Burc-ı Heftüme (Seven Towers).[71] Foundation legends of Constantinople are also told.[72] Saltuk enters the Hagia Sophia Church as well as the Maidens Tower, believed to have been built for the daughter of Seyyid Battal, Sarı Saltuk's ancestor.[73] Information is provided on the churches of Constantinople and on the church hierarchy,[74] according to which the patriarch (*petrik*) is considered to be the head of all infidel priests but remains below the tekfur in the hierarchy.[75] While acknowledging the importance of Constantinople in the Roman lands, the emphasis remains on Edirne as the center of gaza, the embarkation point for world domination, of the Roman lands and beyond. Sarı Saltuk, as the representative of the gazis, distances himself from the claim of the Ottoman elite to world domination based on the conquest of Constantinople.

3 Frontiers

In the *Saltukname*, the centers of importance for Sarı Saltuk are Sinop, Amasya, Kefe (Kaffa) in Crimea, Dobrudja, and Edirne, which are perceived as doors and openings to the infidel territories. Unlike Ahmed Danişmend, Sarı Saltuk does not change his base, but retains them all. Given that Saltuk's

70 The information on Constantinople is told under the rubric "Hikaye-i Konstantiniyye Tekurı" (The Story of the *Tekur* of Constantinople). Ibid., 2:111–120.

71 Mehmed II built the fortress of the Seven Towers as a citadel to block the ceremonial Golden Gate of Byzantium. For possible ideological reasons behind Mehmed II's wish to block the Byzantine ceremonial gate, see Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Empire* (University Park, PA, 2009), 23–29.

72 Akalın, *Saltukname*, 3:180–184. For similar legends on Constantinople and Hagia Sophia Church, see Stephanos Yerasimos, *Türk Metinlerinde Kostantiniye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri* (Istanbul 1995).

73 Akalın, *Saltukname*, 2:243.

74 For the churches of Batlamiyos, Calnos, Fidagaros, Eflatun, Mihran, and Buzantin in and around Constantinople, see Akalın, *Saltukname*, 3:251–253; for Ayasofya (Hagia Sophia Church) and Zeyrek Camii (Pantokrator Monastery), see ibid., 3:181–182.

75 Ibid., 3:107.

movements and conquests take place simultaneously in different, disconnected frontiers, he needs multiple bases. There are no geopolitical boundaries, no thughur-type frontier zone as in the *Battalname,* and no core-periphery zone between fortified cities as in the *Danişmendname*. The *Saltukname* depicts a world with open, undemarcated frontiers, a rallying ground for continuous battle in infidel territory. Castles, cities, mountains, mountain passes, rivers, monasteries, and churches are just points on a map to be crossed. This open frontier concept in the *Saltukname* fits the reality of the Ottoman frontier from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, during which the Ottoman state had an active "open frontier" or "expansion frontier," until the Treaty of Karlowitz, signed in 1699.[76]

The presentation of an open frontier should be read within the context of Ottoman universalistic claims, especially after the conquest of Constantinople and the role the city played in those claims. While Sarı Saltuk's universal ambition is central to the *Saltukname* narrative, which centers around world domination based on an open frontier, it is legitimized differently. Here the claim of world domination is clearly expressed by the importance afforded to geography in the *Saltukname*, by the wide range of areas that the hero conquers and visits. Sarı Saltuk's roaming in the mountains with his herds combines the movement of a nomadic life and the peripatetic character of military life and constant warfare. This lifestyle seems to suit his universal ambitions. While Sinop, Amasya, Kefe, Dobrudja, and Edirne are perceived as doors or openings, providing Sarı Saltuk access to different geographies, his nomadic way of life facilitates his movements.

4 Us and Them

Similar to Seyyid Battal and Ahmed Danişmend, Sarı Saltuk also has an infidel companion, Alyon-ı Rumi, a cavalryman and the son of an infidel Rumi padişah. The way Alyon-ı Rumi is persuaded to become Sarı Saltuk's companion and to

76 On the Ottoman's open frontier, see Rıfaat A. Abou-el-Haj, "The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe: 1699–1703," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89, no. 3 (1969): 467–475; Colin Heywood, "The Frontier in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths," in *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700*, ed. Daniel Power and Naomi Standen (London 1999), 228–250. A delineated frontier was not alien to the Ottomans prior to the seventeenth century. On this, see Maria Pia Pedani, *Dalla Frontiera al Confine* (Rome 2002), 39–58; Darius Kolodziejczyk, "Between Universalistic Claims and Reality: Ottoman Frontiers in the Early Modern Period," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine M. Woodhead (London 2012), 205–219.

convert, however, differs from the "methods" of Seyyid Battal and Ahmed Danişmend. There is the common theme of a duel, between the hero and his companion, as in the other epics, but Sarı Saltuk converts Alyon-ı Rumi to his companion-in-arms by casting a spell on him, which highlights the hero's spiritual power.[77] Alyon-ı Rumi does not accompany Saltuk on his missions as often as Artuhi does with Ahmed Danişmend. Sarı Saltuk's most visible and frequently mentioned companions are Çoban Ata, Kara Davud, and Kemal Ata, who are all Muslim shepherds. The three undertake gazas in Crimea, supported by hundreds of other abdals, at Sarı Saltuk's request. After their conquest of Crimea, Saltuk migrates from Sinop to Kefe.

Saltuk is not an insider to the Byzantine world like Ahmed Danişmend. He has relations with Byzantine clergy and political authorities, but the information that the *Saltukname* relays on the hierarchical arrangement of the Byzantine religious system suggests that the author possesses only a superficial familiarity with the Byzantines and that his source of information was probably a Latin, that is, a Western European. The reasoning behind such a hypothesis is the equation of the tekfur of Constantinople and the Latin pap as the religious authorities leading the two parts of the Christian world, and the patriarch of Constantinople being lower in the hierarchy than the tekfur. This could hardly be the view of the Byzantine clergy, but instead reflects the accusations of the Latin Church directed against the interventionism of the Byzantine emperors in religious affairs, which was one of the major causes of the schism between the Christian East and Christian West.[78]

In the *Saltukname*, the Franks and the pope play roles as important as the Rumis. The tekfur of Constantinople, the Byzantine emperor, is depicted as being lower in the hierarchy than the pope. The tekfur descends from his horse to greet him.[79] The author of the *Saltukname* seems to be aware of the conflicts among Byzantium, the papacy, and the Latin polities. A story about a Byzantine aristocrat from western Asia Minor reveals how the author interpreted some Byzantine elites coming to side with Turkish Muslim groups: When a

77 Akalın, *Saltukname*, 1:15–19.

78 For "Caesaropapism" and the theory of the "two powers" in the Byzantine context, see Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 282–312. One wonders if the source of this "Western" information came from Karlıoğlu Ali Beg, also known as Firenk Ali Bey, who served as Prince Cem's tutor (*lala*) and trusted steward (*kethüda*). Firenk Ali Bey was probably a son or other relative of Carlo I Tocco (1411–1429), ruler of Epiros. For Karlıoğlu Ali Beg, see Grigor Boykov, "Karlızade Ali Bey: An Ottoman Dignitary's Pious Endowment and the Emergence of the Town of Karlova in Central Bulgaria," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 39 (2013): 247–267.

79 Akalın, *Saltukname*, 1:16.

Frank beg accuses Kasım, the son of a Yunan beg (from Ionia) of not siding with the Rumis or the Franks, Kasım responds that even if one day he became the caesar (Byzantine emperor), the Franks would continue to despise him. He therefore would prefer to become a "Turk" rather than join the Franks. Kasım then converts to Islam.[80]

In the *Danişmendname* and the *Battalname*, monks are prominent, whereas in the *Saltukname,* the pope occupies the major role. The former epics feature crypto-Muslim monks, whereas in the *Saltukname*, the crypto-Muslim Christian figure is the pope, who hides a *mescid* (masjid, place of prostration in prayer) under his throne and quotes verses from Ali, the son-in-law of Prophet Muhammad. The *Saltukname* compares the pope with the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, who according to the text was also a crypto-Muslim.[81]

Women are less visible in the *Saltukname* than in the *Danişmendname* and the *Battalname*. Seyyid Battal is a womanizer, and Ahmed Danişmend is monogamous. Saltuk is polygamous like Battal, but compared to Battal, the love affairs and marriages are not of the same significance in the *Saltukname* as in the *Battalname*. The *Saltukname* contains only laconic stories about the marriages of Sarı Saltuk. For instance, he marries Gül-Çehre, the daughter of İstefan, the beg of a Byzantine castle, who converts to Islam and receives the name Ismail.[82] Gül-Çehre is never again mentioned. As the narrative progresses, one learns that Saltuk has two other wives, Nefise Banu, daughter of the Muslim beg of Sinop, Hasan bin Samur Emir Osman, and Huma Banu,[83] the former holding a more prominent place. It is not, however, desire, lust, or love, as in the case of Seyyid Battal that motivates Sarı Saltuk's interest in women. Rather, his marriages represent the natural outcome of territorial conquest and the victories of the hero in gaza activities.

Due to Sarı Saltuk's successful gazas, the father of Nefise Banu offers his daughter to him in marriage. Sarı Saltuk also has a concubine, the unnamed daughter of the Byzantine beg of Dimetoka. He abducts this girl and does not touch her for forty days. On the forty-first day, he sleeps with her.[84] With only one mention of the Byzantine wife, the daughter of the lord of Istehan, and the abducted Byzantine concubine remaining nameless, the matrimonial relationship of Saltuk with the daughter of the Muslim beg of Sinop, who gives his daughter to Sarı Saltuk after his display of bravery and success in gaza, is

80 Ibid., 1:23.

81 Ibid., 1:96–97.

82 Ibid., 2:25–26.

83 On Nefise Banu, see Akalın, *Saltukname*, 1:43, 60, 154; on Huma Banu, ibid., 1:146–147, 153–154; ibid., 2:58; ibid., 3:234.

84 Akalın, *Saltukname*, 2:143.

positioned as the most honorable and valuable relationship in the text. The marriages of Sarı Saltuk's companions in Crimea are also mentioned. Kara Davud abducts the daughter of the Russian sultan from a fair (*panayır*) and marries her, while Kemal Ata abducts and marries the daughter of Gazan, the Tatar sultan of Moscow. These girls serve as informants for gaza activities in these regions, providing information on their fathers and their native lands.[85]

In the *Saltukname*, the construction of the Byzantine characters is in accordance with the geopolitical situation in the Byzantine Empire and the ambitions of its hero. The political and military authority of the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople is thin, but the cultural influence of the empire, especially in the religious realm, can be felt across the countries of the "Byzantine commonwealth." Thus the religious space, and the victories of Sarı Saltuk in that space play a more prominent role than in the other two epics. Sarı Saltuk's infidel companion Alyon-ı Rumi, is the son of a ruler from the Byzantine commonwealth, and given the geopolitical situation within the story, his Byzantine wives and concubines are insignificant figures, as marrying these women would not contribute to the political and religious success of the hero.

The emphasis and importance given to the Muslim wives of Sarı Saltuk but only a passing mention of his Byzantine wife and his slave concubine might also be intended as an expression of discontent about the political culture, that is, the increasing centralization of authority in the Ottoman sultan alone through slave-based reproduction and a slave-based military system. During early stages of Ottoman control, as the spiritual authority of dervish leaders were necessary to legitimize their dynastic rule, Osman I, after whom the dynasty had been named, married to the daughter of Şeyh Edebali, one of the most influential popular religious leaders in Ottoman territory.

Yet the Ottomans, more so than other Muslim dynasties, raised the practice of slave concubinage to a reproductive principle as slave concubines unlike wives had no recognized lineage and hence no right to the throne. To keep the Ottoman dynasty all powerful and aloft, virtually all sultans after the generations of Osman I and Orhan appear to have produced off-springs with concubines.[86] By the reign of Murad I (r. 1362–1389), who succeeded Orhan, female slaves had begun to assume a significant presence in the household of the Ottoman ruler, which is also around the time that male slaves began to assume more military and administrative roles. These policies aimed at the Ottoman dynasty acquiring absolute control over the distribution of power. The care and deliberation afforded the legal marriages with Muslim princesses in the

85 Ibid., 1:171–174.

86 Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 17.

Saltukname may in a way be an indirect criticism of the absolute control of power by the Ottoman dynasty through slave-based reproduction.

4.1 *Gazi*

In all the Turkish Muslim epics of our inquiry including the *Book of Dedem Korkut*, the common term used for self-identification is gazi. Gazi is an Arabic term meaning "warrior, conqueror, raider, soldier of fortune."[87] It denotes those who took part in a raid, incursion, expedition, or a gaza ("holy war"), all of them usually of limited scope and conducted with the aim of acquiring plunder.[88] "Corporations" of gazis are attested in Transoxiana and Khurasan during the Samanid period, in the ninth and tenth centuries.[89] Gazi soldiers in Central Asia in Samanid times constituted gangs of soldiers of fortune, who lived off the booty they seized in raids. It is unclear whether these soldiers came together through private or governmental initiatives. In a way, they were volunteers and did not think that they needed "official" authorization by a ruler to bear arms or to use them. For them, "fighting for faith" provided such legitimation. In later periods, the gentry would recruit and command the gazi forces, and religious dignitaries provided legitimation for the actions of the forces. The legitimizing rationale was usually war against non-Muslims, which also included the then pagan Turks to the north and east of Transoxiana.

The analyses on Rum İli and Romans as depicted in the epics reveal that the heroes of the epics are more interested in political conversion than in religious conversion, or other words prioritize recognition of their political superiority over the religious conversion of the Romans to Islam. In all the epics, the gazis are not all Muslims, but they all recognize the authority of a Muslim leader and fight with him against the infidels, who are not necessarily all non-Muslims, but all of whom recognize the authority of a non-Muslim ruler. Religious conversion is presented in the epics as an eventual result of the infidels' political conversion.

The land of Rome and its conquest constitute the major concern and ambition of the epics' heroes. Hence the infidels are mostly the Byzantines, the Christian Romans, or Rumis. The *Saltukname* differs from the *Danişmendname* and the *Battalname* in the sense that the Franks have a place of equal importance as the Rumis in the narrative. The heroes know their adversaries well.

87 Mélikoff, "Ghazi," *EI*² 2:1043–1045.

88 Johnstone, "Ghazw," *EI*² 2:1055–1056.

89 See Bosworth, "The City of Tarsus," 270–272, on volunteer fighters for the faith flocking from all over Islamic lands to perform the duty of holy war against the infidels, especially from Khurasan to settle the early Byzantine Abbasid frontier.

They infiltrate their political structures and manipulate them in ways appropriate to the geopolitical, social, and cultural situation. Contrary to the scholars' claim on the close cooperation of Byzantine frontier lords, akritai with the gazis, none of the epics depict the gazis as close allies of akritai, which in the epics are called Akritis / Akratis, who are in fact always on the Byzantines' side and they are not shown as collaborating with the Turkish-Muslim groups and heroes.

The nature of gaza and the motivation behind the heroes' pursuit of it in the epics differ. In the *Battalname*, Seyyid Battal leads gaza into Rum İli because the Byzantine emperor, who once sent tribute and gifts to Seyyid Battal's father, no longer does so. His gaza is in a form of freelance raiding. The term gazi in the *Danişmendname* is more like an honorific reserved for Ahmed Danişmend, who distinguishes himself in his conquest of Rum İli. In the *Danişmendname*, Ahmed Danişmend and his friends in Malatya decide on gaza into Rum İli because the Romans have begun attacking the city, and the residents ask for help. Danişmend's gaza is in the form of the conquest of a demarcated territory within the land of Rome, and it results in the imposition of political authority by a Muslim ruler within the Roman lands.

In the *Book of Dedem Korkut*, the Oghuz begs also lead gaza, but as noted, their main purpose was to gain wealth and honor and to divert the aggressive energies of warrior nomads away from their tribal, political structures and toward infidel territories. They do not, however, demonstrate a desire to conquer and then settle the land of Rome. After easily crossing the frontier, they always return to their homeland. In the *Saltukname* one finds a more-established gazi group with its own agenda, own worldview, and mission of bringing the whole world into the abode of Islam. In this epic, gaza thus equates to universal conquest. To sum up, in these epics, one sees a very wide scope of attitudes and motivations ranging from a raid, an incursion, an expedition of limited scope to a very extended scope of world conquest, conducted with the aim of acquiring plunder, or of conquest, settlement and constituting a political rule.

In terms of social background, these heroes belong to different social groups. Seyyid Battal and Ahmed Danişmend are urban-based, peripatetic warriors. Ahmed Danişmend is also erudite and seems to be an insider of the milieu of the Byzantine provincial elite. Sarı Saltuk is a nomadic abdal warrior, representing in his character a group consisting of nomads, nomad raiders (*akıncıs*), Balkan frontier lords, and abdal dervishes. The gazis in the *Saltukname* constitute a social group as such, but there are no obvious rules distinguishing its members or their characterization by certain features or other attributes. Yet it seems that this group takes pride in their membership and have a clear universal claim of conquering the world. The *Saltukname* creates an uninterrupted line

between the gazis of the past, present, and future through which rights to the Roman lands become a temporal, historical right.

Given all of the above, do these epics reflect fifty shades of gazihood? It is more likely that they reflect the different types of conquests and experiences of different Turkish Muslim warrior groups from different regions at different periods of time. Except for Sarı Saltuk, who seems to have developed a well-defined gazi group identity, the other heroes' gazi moniker seems to be related to the respect and honor that that identity bestows on them and legitimizes their actions in the medieval Muslim world.

4.2 *Turk*

In the *Saltukname*, Turk is a term of self-definition for Sarı Saltuk. It is never used in reference to the heroes in the *Battalname* and the *Danişmendname*. Instead, Seyyid Battal and Ahmed Danişmend are always identified as Muslims. The term is also not used in the *Book of Dedem Korkud*, whose story takes place in a "Turcoman social" space. The heroes are always identified as Oghuz. The infidels usually call them Tatars,[90] and an infidel at one point differentiates the Oghuz begs from the Turcomans and says, "A spoiled Oghuz is like a mad Turcoman."[91] A look at two earlier fourteenth-century sources—the dervish vitas *Menakıbü'l Kudsiyye* and *Menakıbü'l Arifin*—help shed light on the semiotic changes surrounding the term Turk.

In *Menakıbü'l Kudsiyye* and *Menakıbü'l Arifin*, the description Turk always applies to those who speak Turkish (*Türk dili*).[92] For example, a Turk tries to sell fox fur at the market by yelling in Turkish,[93] and a grammarian (*nahivci*) corrects the Arabic of a Turkish *fakih* (expert in Islamic law).[94] Turk often also applies to people with a specific lifestyle. That is, a Turk is not a city dweller (*Türk ü şehri kamu ana uyalar*).[95] In a letter Mevlana wrote to Seljuk dignitaries, the Turks are depicted as people who live in haircloth tents.[96] The Turk also has certain recognized physical features. Baba İlyas is attributed the image of a

90 Tezcan and Boeschoten, *Dede Korkut Oğuznameleri*, 178, 266. For Tatars, see Peter Benjamin Golden, "Tatar," *EI2*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1198 (accessed September 18, 2019).

91 Ibid., 163: 126b "Kafir eydür: Oguzun arsuzı Türkmanun delüsine benzer… ." Sümer, Uysal and Walker, *The Book of Dede Korkut*, 142.

92 Erünsal and Ocak, *Menakıbu'l-Kudsiyye*, 114, line 1315; 115, line 1328; 166, line 1961.

93 Yazıcı, *Ariflerin Menkıbeleri*, 1:271, story 289.

94 Ibid., 1:155, story 50.

95 Erünsal and Ocak, *Menakıb'ul Kudsiyye*, 49, line 556.

96 On the letter, see Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana Celaleddin: Mektuplar* (Istanbul 1963), 161, letter CVI. In the thirteenth-century Persian and Arabic sources, the Seljuk dynasty's members are rarely referred to as Turks, although it had been in earlier periods, especially in the eleventh century. When "Turk" appears in the Islamic texts dealing with Asia Minor, it often clearly means a nomad. "Turk" might also mean a military slave. For terminology

rough Turk (*key kaba türk suretinde münir*).[97] Mevlana says that he has disciples with facial features found among the Rum and the Turks.[98]

In the *Menakıbü'l Arifin*, no distinction is made between Turks and Mongols. In fact, the identification "Turk" is used interchangeably for both groups. For instance, Geyhatu (Gaykhatu) (d. 1295), the Ilkhanid Mongol ruler, is identified as a Turk, as are the Turkish emirs of western Anatolia.[99] When Ulu Arif Çelebi, the grandson of Mevlana, goes to visit the emir of Germiyan, Yakub b. Alişir (d. c.1340), the emir does not show him due respect because of his ignorance. Yakub is considered ignorant because he is a Turk, thus making him unaware of the world of the *veli*s (Muslim saints).[100] Mehmed Beg of Aydın emirate (d. 1334), however, immediately recognizes Arif Çelebi as his shaykh. Hence Arif Çelebi prefers Mehmed Beg most among all the Mongol and Turkish emirs.[101]

The *Menakıbü'l Kudsiyye* distinguishes Turks from Mongols (*şehri vü ecnebi vü Türk ü Mongol*).[102] The Mongols, according to the author, were Chingizids and Kazan Tatars (Hitay).[103] The same vita mentions that the Mongols were transformed into Turks and mixed with them (*Türke kalb oldı Türke karışdı*).[104] Aksarayi, who dedicated his history to the Mongol governor Timurtaş (1318–1327), distinguishes between Mongols and Turks. Being himself involved in the administration of Mongol government and its Tajik Muslim supporters, he applies the term Turk to those who rebelled against the Mongols, and hence they are branded with negative descriptions, among them "bloody Turks," "Turks as minions of Satan," or "unlucky Turks."[105] What one gathers from these fourteenth-century sources is that being Turk had a linguistic element (speaking Turkish), defined a way of life (leading a nomadic lifestyle), and some designated physical features. Meanwhile, Mongols and Tatars, depending on the context, were identified sometimes as Turks.

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in the thirteenth-century Persian and Arabic sources, see Andrew C.S. Peacock, *Early Seljuq History: A New Interpretation* (London 2010), 48–53.

97 Erünsal and Ocak, *Menakıb'ul Kudsiyye*, 105, line 1206.

98 Yazıcı, *Ariflerin Menkıbeleri*, 1:222, story 170: "Benim ne de güzel Rum ve Türk çehreli, gizli dilberlerim var."

99 Ibid., 1:259, story 255.

100 Yazıcı, *Ariflerin Menkıbeleri*, 2:226, story 86. For the terms *veli* and *velayet*, see above, 165n29.

101 Yazıcı, *Ariflerin Menkıbeleri*, 2:226, story 87.

102 Erünsal and Ocak, *Menakıb'ul Kudsiyye*, 134, line 1553.

103 Ibid., 157, lines 1834–1836.

104 Ibid., 158, line 1847.

105 Ibid., 71, 97, 112, 114, 123. For Aksarayi's attitude toward Mongol domination in Anatolia, see Anooshahr, *The Gazi Sultans and the Frontiers of Islam*, 128–134.

In the fifteenth-century *Saltukname*, the meaning of the term Turk changes, becoming synonymous with being Muslim. Accordingly, Muhammad was sent by God as his prophet to the Turks. Instead of "Islam," the expression *Türkler dini* (Turks' religion) is used. When the author tells the story of Ebu Eyyüb-i Ensari (d. 669), a companion of Prophet Muhammad and who was among the notables listed as accompanying Yezid b. Muaviye (647–683) in battle against Constantinople, he describes him as an Arabic-speaking Turk.[106]

Similar use of the term Turk is attested in the *Düsturname* in relaying the life and exploits of the Turkish emir Umur Beg of Aydın, also the antagonist of the martyrion of the soldiers of Philadelphia (Alaşehir). The *Düsturname* was written in 1464/65 under the patronage of Mahmud Paşa (d. 1474), the grand vizier of Mehmed II.[107] The commissioning of an epic dealing with the ruler of an Anatolian Turkish emirate annexed by the Ottomans forty years earlier, in 1425, was significant. Umur Beg had been a sea-faring warrior, and his exploits led to a cult following among sailors of the Aegean for several generations. The *Düsturname* was composed a year after the outbreak of the Ottoman-Venetian war (1463–1479), which necessitated Ottoman naval control of the Aegean to protect Istanbul and nearby islands. The commissioning of such a work was an indication that the Ottomans were trying to bring this cult under their control at a time when a powerful navy was required.[108]

In the *Düsturname*, Umur Beg is not depicted as a nomad, but a peripatetic warrior and a military leader. His primary opponents are the Franks. The protagonists are always described as Turks, which initially seems to be an ethnic distinction.[109] Thus the story is one of the Franks versus the Turks. Yet, there are people who become Turks in the narrative. For instance, a certain Mumcila

106 "Ol Muhammed'dir kim Türklere peygamber gelmistir." Akalın, *Saltukname*, 1:72, line M54a. For *Türkler dini*, Ibid., 1:336, line M246. On Ebu Eyyüb-i Ensari, see Akalın, *Saltukname*, 2:80, line T286b. According to one tradition, Ebu Eyyüb el-Ensari died during the siege of Constantinople in 669 and was buried near the walls of Constantinople. This legend led Mehmed II to construct a tomb over Ebu Eyyüb's purported grave and built a mosque in his honor after the conquest of Constantinople.

107 For Umur Beg, the *Düsturname,* and Aydınoğulları, see Chapter 2, the part on the martyrs of Philadelphia. On Mahmud Paşa, see Theoharis Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs: The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelovic* (*1453–1474*) (Leiden 2001).

108 Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs*, 294–296.

109 Mélikoff, *Le Destan d'Umur Pacha*, 58, lines 293–294: "pes Besertoya firenk oldi haber: Türk toldi ada toldi şur ü şer"; ibid., 77, lines 843–844: "her ne yerden cıqmak isterse firenk Türk oq atup döndürür qılardı cenk"; ibid., 93, lines 1329–1330, where Parakimomenos (Alexios Apokaukos (d. 1345)), megas doux, blames John Kantakouzenos for having handed Philadelphia to the Turks, saying, "Halqa dedi kim Alaşehri bular Türke verdi oldi eli tar u mar"; ibid., 112, lines 1947–1948: "yüriyüp çünkim firenk etdi hücum Türk uzun oqlar alup eyledi hum"; ibid., 64, lines 473–474: "ol elün küffarı tapu qıldılar, elleşürler Türk andan aldılar."

(Momitzilo), a Bulgarian warrior from Serbian lands, ceases to be an infidel by joining Umur Beg and adopting Turkish garb (*Türk toni*).[110] Putting on *Türk toni*, is not changing ones faith in the strictest sense, but an act of recognizing Umur Beg's authority and fighting with him against the infidels. After Mumcila joins his forces with Umur Beg, he is no longer called an infidel. The opposition of Turk and Frank and Turk and infidel is frequent in the *Düsturname*, and the "Turk" represents the combatant par excellence against the infidels. In the *Saltukname* and also in the *Düsturname*, while the term Turk is used synonymously for Muslim, it at the same time means "acteurs de la guerre," against the infidels. This last meaning overlaps with use of the term Turk in Egyptian and Syrian chronicles of the sixteenth century.[111]

4.3 *Rumi*

In the *Danişmendname* Rum evolves into a social and cultural space where the inhabitants of Rum, the Rums or the Rumis, speak *Rumi dili* (Roman language) and use *Rumi hattı* (Roman script). They are infidels, because they pray to Jesus as God, are fond of idols (i.e., relics), eat pork and "insects from the sea," and drink wine. Rumis mark their land with monasteries and churches. As one might gather from their names, they are people of different ethnicities. As discussed in Chapter one, the territorial conquest of Rum in the *Danişmendname* follows the conquest of the social space of the Rumi provincial military aristocracy. With their integration into the group of Ahmed Danişmend, mainly through love affairs and matrimonial alliances, their fortified cities are easily conquered.

A Rumi ceases to be a Rumi when he or she becomes a member of Ahmed Danişmend's group. Said person is thereafter never identified as an infidel, although it is unclear whether a religious conversion is involved. It is also unclear from the text whether conversion is a prerequisite for inclusion in the group. On the other hand, the Turkish Muslim governors who ally with the Byzantine authorities or governors against Ahmed Danişmend are always referred to as küffar (infidels). The political aspect of being Roman, that is, being loyal to the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople or to his governors in the provinces, is the dominant element in the Rumi identification of the Byzantines. Ahmed Danişmend interestingly positions himself as equal in rank to the Byzantine provincial governors, Şah-ı Şattat, Nastor, and Puthil. It seems that he perceives himself as the Muslim equivalent of high-ranking provincial Byzantine

110 Ibid., 101, lines 1569–1594.

111 Benjamin Lellouch, "Qu'est-ce qu'un Turc? (Égypte, Syrie, XVIe siècle)," *European Journal of Turkish Studies* (2013), 7–8, http://ejts.revues.org/4758 (accessed September 30, 2017).

authorities, who are considered to be on a lower political and social hierarchy than the Constantinopolitan emperor. He becomes the Muslim ruler of Rum in the traditional Roman/Byzantine geopolitical and social space into which he has intruded. On the other hand, he is not defined in the epic as the Ahmed Danişmend of Rum, which would have indicated his belonging to the land of Rome.

In the *Saltukname*, the majority of the land of Rome is under the authority of Turkish Muslim rulers. A geographical belonging to the land of Rome is found in the *Saltukname*, where Sarı Saltuk identifies himself as Saltuk of Rum. Yet this does not imply a cultural identity. The cultural Rumis are the Christians under the influence of the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople. Sarı Saltuk is a Muslim warrior, a Turk. The cultural Rumi designation for Turkish Muslim individuals is more striking in the fifteenth-century dervish vita on Şeyh Bedreddin, a sufi shaykh, and a *kadıasker* (military judge), who revolted against Mehmed I and was executed in 1416.

The vita has been considered an attempt by Halil b. İsmail, Bedreddin's grandson, to whitewash the memory of his grandfather, but the details in the vita show that Halil in fact had not disregarded his grandfather's good relations with political figures known to be in the anti-Bayezid I camp before 1402 and with other political actors known to have opposed Mehmed I.[112] The various details in this vita are probably the efforts of Halil to emphasize the political and spiritual charisma of Bedreddin and to redefine his ancestor as Rumi, a member of the Ottoman elite.

According to the vita, Bedreddin's grandfather, Abdülaziz, had been vizier to the House of Seljuk. Abdülaziz is identified as a gazi and a disciple of Mevlana.[113] Halil forges a strong legitimizing link between Bedreddin and the Seljukids, who were considered to be politically superior to the Ottomans.[114] According to Halil, Bedreddin's father, Gazi İsrail, was among the first seven gazis, along with Hacı İlbegi and Gazi Ece, to cross the Dardanelles with Süleyman Paşa, the son of the Ottoman sultan Orhan, to engage in gaza activities on Roman lands (Rum İli). While Bedreddin's direct lineage with the Seljukid vizier Abdülaziz

112 Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, "Center-Periphery, Orthodoxy-Heterodoxy: The Case of Sheikh Bedreddin and the Bogomils" (MA thesis, Boğaziçi University 1999); Halil Erdem Çıpa, "Contextualizing Şeyh Bedreddin: Notes on Halil b. Ismail's *Menakıb-ı Şeyh Bedreddin b. Israil,*" in *Şinasi Tekin'in Anısına Uygurlardan Osmanlıya,* ed. Günay Kut and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz (Istanbul 2005), 285–295.

113 Gölpınarlı and Sungurbey, *Şeyh Bedreddin Manakıbı*, 5–6.

114 For the emphasis on Abdülaziz in the vita and on its interpretation as creating a legitimizing link with the Seljukids, see Çıpa, "Contextualizing Şeyh Bedreddin," 287. Also see Krstic, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, 44.

is emphasized, the lineage of the other gazis, Hacı İlbegi and Gazi Ece, is described with an offensive phrase and mention that they are the seeds of a son-in-law of the same Abdülaziz.[115] Hence the other gazis who played roles in the conquest of Rumelia are presented as inferior to the father of Bedreddin through their lesser descent.

Based on a dream, Süleyman decides on a gaza against the Roman lands (Rum İli/Rumelia) and gets a green light from Abdülaziz to do so.[116] Therefore Abdülaziz plays the role of the caliph, who in the warrior epics grants permission for gaza. The gazis conquer Rumeli and settle there. Bedreddin's father, Gazi Israil, resides for a time in Simavna and marries the daughter of the city's Byzantine governor, who converts to Islam and receives the name Melek. Gazi Israil converts the church in the city into his home. An interesting detail in the vita reveals that some of the illustrious gazis of the warrior epics did not live such exciting lives during peacetime. Although Gazi İsrail was an illustrious gazi warrior, during peacetime, he was a fief holder and earned his income from farming. He is depicted as leading a rough farmer's life, tilling the soil until late at night in a village on the edge of the fortified city of Simavna.[117]

Bedreddin is born in Simavna around 1358/59 and given the name Mahmud. He would receive the name Bedreddin, meaning "the light of religion," in his later years. His family moves to Edirne after the conquest of that city and settles there. Bedreddin studies the Qur'an and jurisprudence before traveling to Bursa, Konya, and Cairo, where he excels in his studies. In Cairo, he abandons the study of jurisprudence and joins Sufi circles, ultimately becoming a Sufi shaykh. Between 1411 and 1413, Bedreddin is the kadıasker of the Ottoman ruler Musa Çelebi (r. 1411–1413), one of Bayezid I's sons.[118] Upon another son of Bayezid, Mehmed I, seizing power, Bedreddin is exiled to Iznik with his family.

According to the vita, Bedreddin asks permission from Mehmed I to go to Egypt and Mecca, but his request is rejected. He then decides to approach İsfendiyar Beg, who had ruled Sinop since 1385 and who suggests that he goes to the Tatars in Crimea. As Bedreddin tries to reach Crimea, Frank ships prohibit his boat from passing, stranding him in territory belonging to the prince of Wallachia, Mircea (r. 1386–1418).[119] Bedreddin is later captured by Mehmed I

115 Gölpınarlı and Sungurbey, *Şeyh Bedreddin Manakıbı*, 8.

116 Ibid., 9.

117 Ibid., 13.

118 On the Ottoman internal strive following the Battle of Ankara in 1402, see Dimitris J. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–1413* (Leiden 2007).

119 Gölpınarlı and Sungurbey, *Şeyh Bedreddin Manakıbı*, 101.

and hanged at Serres in the marketplace in 1416, accused of having rebelled. The vita refutes the claims of revolt although Ottoman historians, including Aşıkpaşazade, mention that Bedreddin had claims to seize the Ottoman throne and promised tımar to the frontier lords and people in Rumeli.[120]

Bedreddin, according to his vita, had good relations with all the important political actors and social groups of his time: i.e., with the begs of different Turkish principalities, with the Mamluk sultan, Berkuk (r. 1390–1399); with Timur (r. 1370–1405), the founder of the Turco-Mongol Timurid Empire (1370–1507),[121] who defeated Bayezid I in 1402; with the Tatars of the Golden Horde; with the prince of Wallachia. He was admired by the abdal dervishes, nomads, gazis, Christians, and (Frank) monks and priests on the island of Chios. His knowledge and wisdom were appreciated in Muslim scholarly circles and in some Sufi circles.

As noted, according to his vita, Bedreddin was of Seljuk descent through his grandfather, the Seljuk vizier Abdülaziz. He was the son of a gazi who had gone into Rumelia, but through his family's link to Abdülaziz, he was superior to other gazis. Bedreddin did not remain a tımar holder or farmer soldier like his gazi father, but excelled at his studies of the Qur'an and Islamic jurisprudence, first in Edirne and then at the important centers of scholarly pursuit in Bursa, Konya and Egypt. He became a spiritual leader, a Sufi shaykh. He served as kadıasker to an Ottoman prince. He was admired by Muslims as well as by non-Muslims in the abode of infidels. He converted Christians to Islam there.

Bedreddin is always identified as a Rumi in the vita written by his grandson, never as a Turk. The Christians of the Rum İli are absent from the narrative. The infidels are the Franks on the island of Chios and those guarding the Black Sea. When Bedreddin and his colleagues journey outside Anatolia and the Balkans, the term *Rumiler* (the Romans) is used as a geographical identifier to differentiate them from other Muslims, from Persians (Acem), from the Arabs (*evlad-ı Arab,* children of Arabs), *fukaha-yi Arab* (Arab jurists), *Arab kamilleri* (the perfect men of the Arabs), and *Hindi namı* (Muslims from India). Bedreddin is called *Bedr-i Rum* (the luminary of Rum), the *Rum'un cevheri* (the pearl of Rum), Mahmud-ı Rumi (the praised of Rum), *Rum'un pertevi* (light of Rum). As understood from the words of Timur in Bedreddin's vita, the term *Rumi* also implies a certain cultural discourse and style.[122] In the correspondence

120 Öztürk, *Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi*, 122–123.

121 Beatrice F. Manz, "Timur Lang," *EI²,* http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1223 (accessed November 9, 2017).

122 Gölpınarlı and Sungurbey, *Şeyh Bedreddin Manakıbı*, 53–54: "Söylesün vasfun senün Rum u Acem Ne kişisin söze gel iy bü'l-aceb Söylesün vasfun senün Hind ü Arab." Ibid., 55: "Görmek isterler cemalün ehl-i Rum."

between Bedreddin and Timur, the latter wants to meet Bedreddin to see whether he has Rum, Acem, Arab, or Hindi qualities (*vasf*). Only when parole is given to the monks of Chios or to the Genoese administrators do they call Bedreddin *Türk'ün ulusu* (Great Turk).[123]

Thus, not only was Bedreddin of distinguished descent, he also carved an illustrious path for himself. The vita is, indeed, an impressive curriculum vitae that checks the appropriate boxes at the time of the vita's production. These details are emphasized by his grandson, who served in the military forces of Murad II and Mehmed II.[124] According to the vita, after the conquest of Constantinople, Halil returned to his grandfather's tomb and lived there. One is left with the impression that Halil did not have the financial or material means to lead a comfortable life. Halil through Bedreddin's qualities may well be angling for Ottoman elite membership and material support.

In the Turkish Muslim epics and the dervish vita on Bedreddin, one perceives a semiotic shift in the meaning of Rumi from defining people under the direct authority of the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople to people sharing the same territory, language, script, religious belief, dress code, and political affiliation. At the same time, those who conquer and settle in the land of Rome begin to define themselves first as people belonging to this geopolitical space, and then the term Rumi gradually comes to designate Muslims from the land of Rome, share a certain cultural discourse and style. The profile of the Turkish Muslim Rumi is depicted by Mustafa Ali of the sixteenth century as "those varied peoples and different types of Rumis, who are not separate from those tribes of Turks and Tatars, singled out for their faith and having of mixed ethnic origins, whose genealogy is traced to a filthy infidel."[125]

This shift in Rumi identification—to the geographical and cultural connotations for Turkish Muslim individuals and groups as in Şeyh Bedreddin's vita—can be traced in other Ottoman sources of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, where Rumi signifies a certain style of expression in poetry and in architecture distinct from Acem (Persian) and Arab styles.[126] In the Egyptian and Syrian chronicles and biographical dictionaries of the sixteenth century,

123 Ibid.,89: "Anda Sakızın adasınun kafiri. Görüben Şeyh'den keramet herbiri. Beglerine söylediler kim gelün. Bunda Türk'ün Ulu'sun davet kılun"; Ibid., 108: "Anladım ki Türk'ün ulu'sıdır ol."

124 Ibid.,149, 156.

125 Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 254.

126 For Rumi-style poetry, see Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own," 15–17. For Rumi architectural features, see Necipoğlu, "Challenging the Past"; eadem, "L'idée de décor dans les régimes de visualité islamiques"; Kafesçioğlu, "In the Image of Rum"; Artan, "Questions of Ottoman Identity and Architectural History."

references to Turks means the Mamluks. Neither the Ottoman dynasty nor the Ottoman elites are viewed as Turks, but as Rum (plural, Awram).[127]

In the sixteenth century, via an inscription engraved on the walls of Jerusalem, Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566) proclaimed to every visiting pilgrim his domination over the entire Muslim world—i.e., as Sultanü'r-Rum ve'l-Arab ve'l-Acem (Sultan of the Rum, Arab, Persia).[128] The Portuguese also used Rumi to designate the Muslim inhabitants of Asia Minor and the Balkans.[129] Similar to the vita of Şeyh Bedreddin, in the Ottoman chronicles, it is only when the Latins or the Byzantines take the stage in the narrative that the term Turk is used. The Latins called the Ottoman sultan, for instance, as the "Grand Turk."[130]

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127 Veinstein, "Les Ottomans: variations sur une identité," 113–114.

128 Ibid., 107–108.

129 Özbaran, "Ottomans as 'Rumes' in Portuguese Sources in the Sixteenth Century."

130 On this point and for rigorous analysis of the use of the terms Turk and Rumi in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Egyptian and Syrian sources, see Lellouch, "Qu'est-ce qu'un Turc?"

Conclusion

The stories discussed in this book intersect, overlap, and converge on several levels. To wit, Alaeddin Keykubad I—grandfather of Izzeddin Keykavus II, patron of the *Danişmendname*—conquered Kalon Oros, hometown of the thirteen martyrs of Cyprus, who were killed under Lusignan rule. Mesud II, the antagonist in the martyrion on Niketas the Younger, was the son of Izzeddin Keykavus II. The Cappadocian region, where the martyrdom of Niketas the Younger took place, is the setting of the *Danişmendname*. It was also a region of central importance for the Babai movement around which the Abdalan-ı Rum dervishes coalesced. Cappadocia is linked to the western Pontic region in the *Danişmendname,* and the Empire of Trebizond features in both the *Danişmendname* and especially in the *Book of Dedem Korkud*. The connection of the western Pontic, especially Sinop, to the Crimea is apparent in the *Saltukname*.

The historical background of the martyrdom story of Michael of Alexandria connects Byzantium, Latins, western Turkish emirates, the Catalan Grand Company, the papacy, and the Mamluks of Egypt. Umur Beg of Aydın, antagonist in the story on the martyrs of Philadelphia, is the protagonist of the *Düsturname*. Ottoman Edirne (Byzantine Adrianople), center of the gazis in the *Saltukname*, is the birthplace of the martyr Theodore the Younger and is the site of the martyrdom of George of Adrianople. The story on George of Adrianople in Edirne unites the pope, the Byzantine patriarch, the Byzantine emperor, and the cities of Rome and Constantinople, whereas the story of the martyrdom of Anthimos in Venetian Crete separates them. Theodore the Younger happened to be in Ottoman Melagina, where he was martyred, at the same time as Gregory Palamas.

The story of the martyrs of Vilnius is connected to political and religious competition in the territories of Rus between the rulers of Moscow and Lithuania, who sought the authority of the hesychast patriarchs in Constantinople, active agents in the politics of the Orthodox Christian world. The warrior and Abdalan-ı Rum dervish Sarı Saltuk in the *Saltukname* also leads his activities within this Roman Christian oikoumene and fights with his disciples to help the khans of the Golden Horde conquer the territories of Rus and spread Islam. It was to the Golden Horde that Izzeddin Keykavus II escaped in 1264, and it is likely while that that he commissioned the *Danişmendname*.

In these entangled stories, great value is attached to the land of Rome as a geopolitical, social, and cultural space. The ultimate desire of the heroes of the epics is to conquer Rum / Rum İli in order to transform and convert its

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landscape and its people with the ultimate goal of bringing this territory and its people into the realm of Islam. In the ninth and tenth-centuries setting of the *Battalname*, the frontiers of Rum represent a thughur zone between Muslim Arab and Byzantine lands—an area marked by fortified cities, towers, and mountain passes and rivers along the Taurus and Anti-Taurus—. The frontiers move to the Cappadocia region bordering the western Pontic region within the land of Rome, and articulated as the distance from one fortified city to another in the *Danişmendname*. Finally, in the *Saltukname*'s story-world, the frontier is open, undemarcated rallying ground for continuous battle in the infidels' territory.

Rum, a geopolitical space under the religious and political authority of the omnipotent Byzantine emperor in the *Battalname*, transforms in the *Danişmendname* into a territory governed by semi-autonomous Byzantine provincial elites, who owe their prestige and wealth to their family connections with the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople. Land of Rome disintegrates into four spaces in the *Saltukname*: the city of Constantinople, the "Byzantine commonwealth," the greater Roman Empire, and most of Asia Minor and the Balkans (now inhabited and governed by Turkish Muslim authorities). The frontiers of the geopolitical Turkish Muslim land of Rome had roughly been set, basically corresponding to Asia Minor and the Balkans. Its northern point of entry was the region of Harcenevan (which includes Amasya and Sinop); its western point of entry was adjacent to the territories of the Firenk (Franks). Acem (Persian land), Arab Diyarı (Arab land), Egypt and Baghdad were not part of it.

The conquest of the land of Rome, the settlement of the new comers in this territory, and the transformation of its landscape and its people are not imagined and perceived as the replacement of one entity by another. Rather, the stories depict a transformation and encounter in which there is a merger of different cultural, religious, and ethnic elements; engagement in the power struggles of local elites, warriors, and mercenary groups; and integration of the newcomers into the existing political structures, including in urban centers. Conquest of the land of Rome is achieved in the epics through military and political control of the urban centers. The attitudes of the heroes toward the urban centers vary before and after they capture a city. For instance, whereas Ahmed Danişmend sets about transforming the urban social landscape before military and political victory and changes the physical landscape after he captures a city, Sarı Saltuk after conquering urban centers maintains his distance from the urban environment and instead concentrates on transforming the rural landscape. In the story-worlds of the Turkish Muslim epics, late Byzantine martyria, and dervish vita, the encounters, both peaceful and violent,

between the Byzantines and the newcomers take place on the frontiers and in the cities.

The epic heroes of the *Battalname* and the *Danişmendname* self-identified as Muslims, not Turks, but becoming one of "us" did not necessarily require religious conversion. Recognizing the political authority of the epic hero, political loyalty to his cause, or submission to his military or spiritual leadership all allowed for the inclusion of the "other," who is almost always identified as Roman, into the category of us without necessarily converting to Islam. The conversion is perceived as a political act, and after this political conversion the "other" is no longer considered an infidel. Religious conversion is presented in the epics as an eventual result of the political conversion. As long as the epic heroes expand the territories under their political authority, group formation based largely on political conversion is quite inclusive. Once newcomers cross the geographical and social frontiers and carve out a space for themselves, new boundaries are established to separate "us" from "them." These new boundaries are sometimes created through adherence to social norms, such as food consumption and commensality.

The encounter in the Turkish Muslim epics is between Muslim warrior groups and Byzantine provincial aristocrats, rulers, governors and ecclesiastics, who are all identified as Romans. The otherness of the Roman, the Rumi, in the epics is not tied to the other's religion, Christianity. Although the territorial, political, and cultural elements of being Roman are all mentioned, the political element of being Roman, that is recognizing the political authority of the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople or the Byzantine provincial governors or rulers, is the most essential element defining the "other" in the narratives. There is a conscious choice in selecting a particular Roman character from a certain social milieu as companion, enemy, or wife or lover.

All the choices are closely linked to the Byzantine political structure and power dynamics in the Byzantine political space of each epic: one moves in these epics from the land of Rome ruled by a powerful central authority in Constantinople to a space ruled by semi-autonomous Byzantine provincial military aristocrats and finally to a space in which Byzantium is just a city-state that continues to have cultural and religious influence on the Byzantine commonwealth. As the land of Rome gradually becomes a part of Muslim-governed territory, Roman identification is appropriated by the Turkish Muslim hero. While the territory, the land of Rome, gradually defines "Turkish Muslims" in the epics and some dervish vita, in the late Byzantine martyria, the "Christians" define territory.

All the martyrdom stories reflect that as the geopolitical frontiers of the Byzantine Empire shrank, the Byzantine elites in Constantinople reimagined

and reformulated their communal identity. Although these martyria are considered religious texts, reflective of the religious element of Byzantine identity, the analysis by the authors, the patrons of the texts, and the historical contexts in which they were produced show that "being Christian" was formulated in a highly exclusive manner. It was not only a matter of religion, but a highly political issue as well that was closely related to a geographical marker.

The heroes of the martyrdom narratives, the representatives of the Byzantine ecumenical community, are not depicted as Romans but as Christians. Not all Christians, however, are deemed worthy of being called or considered such. The Latins are heretics, and the Lithuanian martyrs are not yet deemed worthy of being called Christians. The martyria reflect two geographical or spatial notions, patris and the Christian Roman oikoumene, as essential elements of Byzantine identity. Being Christian incorporated notions such as fatherland and home, family and household, and political elements, meaning loyalty to the Byzantine emperor and to the Byzantine patriarch in Constantinople. The Christian Roman oikoumene represents a vast space in which there are Christian communities, churches, and saints' relics, in other words, places over which the Byzantine emperor once ruled.

For the authors of the late Byzantine martyria, the martyrdom narratives represent the ongoing claims of authority by Byzantine emperors and the Byzantine church over Orthodox Christians in areas once ruled by the Byzantine emperors that eventually fell under Muslim and Latin rule. The martyria, set against a historical backdrop of the shrinking frontiers of the territories ruled from Constantinople, conform to the rough geographical contour of the Christian Roman oikoumene at that time. The authors move from Kalon Oros, in southern Asia Minor, to Lusignan Cyprus, to Cappadocia-Nyssa under Seljuk rule and then to Mamluk Alexandria via Smyrna. They go on to Adrianople and Ottoman Melagina. They then move farther north to Vilnius and then turn south, to Crete. They then arrive at Sofia and Adrianople.

The stories of the new Byzantine martyrs provide a storyboard of the last two hundred years of the Byzantine Empire in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade. The martyrdoms occurred concurrently with significant events related to political developments, and in this respect, the texts recording them are highly political. The martyrdom narratives reflect a Christian Roman oikoumene whose center is Constantinople. The loss of imperial territory is evidenced in one martyrdom story to the next. Written or commissioned primarily by the civil or ecclesiastical elite of Constantinople, the late Byzantine martyria reflect continuous efforts and a willingness of this elite to construct a common identity within the Christian Roman oikoumene, in part by trying to keep the three essential actors—the Byzantine emperor, the Byzantine patriarch, and Constantinople—at the center.

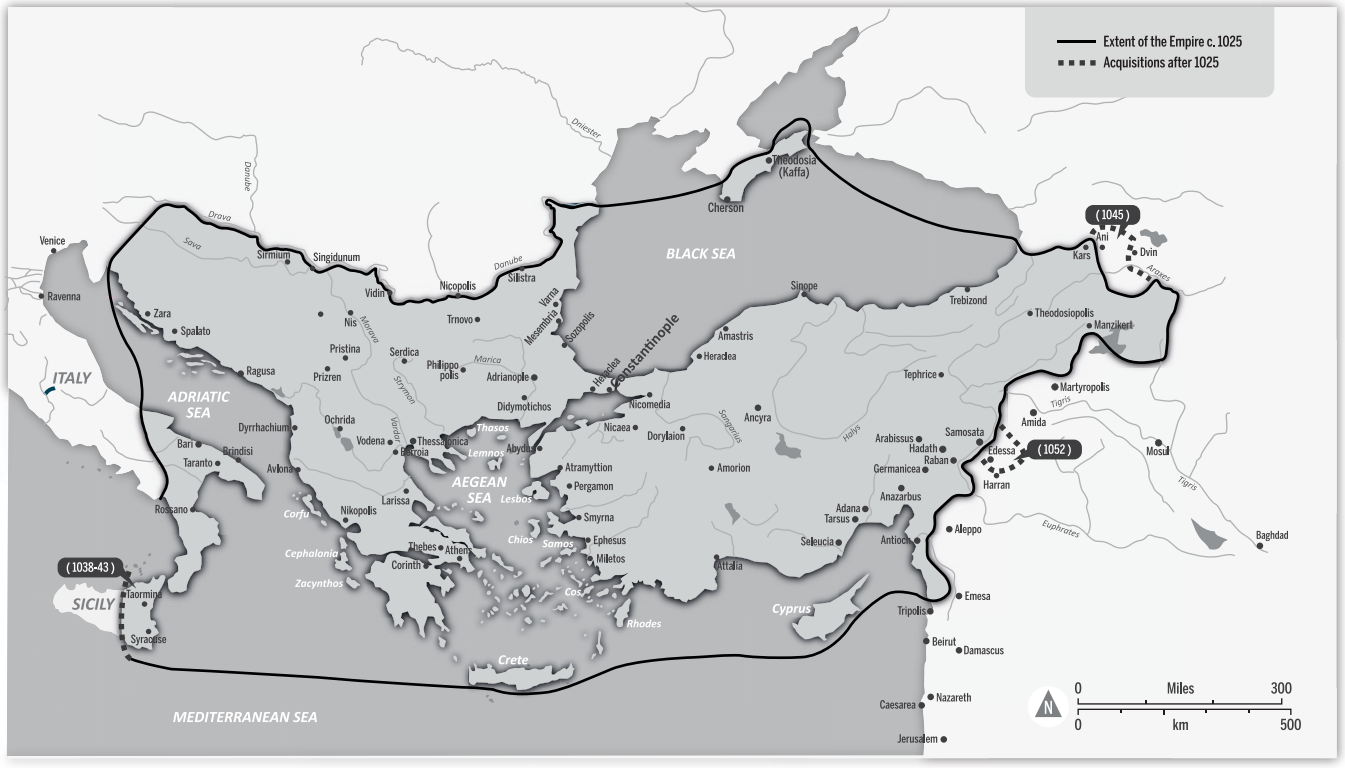
The promotion of cults of the martyrs who suffered and died under foreign rule concurs with the periods during which Byzantine universal aspirations were voiced strongly: during the tenure of Germanos II, patriarch of Constantinople at Nicaea; during the reign of Andronikos II; during the time of the hesychast patriarchs; and on the eve of the Council of Ferrara-Florence. The recognition of the new martyrs and promotion of their cults were intended to bolster imperial and patriarchal claims to lead the church worldwide.

According to the martyria, the universal ambitions of the Byzantine emperors and the Byzantine patriarchs were not simply hollow ideas or wishful thinking. The sources note that various parties in the territories under "foreign" political authority recognized the authority of the emperor and the Byzantine church over Orthodox Christians beyond the empire's borders. In Mamluk Egypt, the Byzantine emperor was considered the head of Christendom and chief protector of the Christian faith. The Cretans asked guidance from the patriarch of Constantinople. In terms of Christians in recently lost Byzantine lands, such as Bithynia and Adrianople, the proximity of the regions to Constantinople and their relatively recent transfer to foreign rule allowed the Christians there to remain in close contact with the Byzantine patriarch and emperor in Constantinople. Theodore the Younger, for instance, could travel to Constantinople to seek the patriarch's advice.

The late Byzantine martyria reflect the various concerns of the Byzantine state and the Byzantine church: social pressure from the Muslim way of life on Christian populations, especially in public spaces in Muslim-governed cities; military advances of "Turkish Muslim" groups; enslavement of Byzantines during raids and incursions and their conversion to Islam on the frontiers of Byzantine territory; the integration of Christian military forces into the Ottomans' forces; political, social, and theological pressure from the Latin Church and of Latin political authorities over the Orthodox flock in Latin-ruled areas; and religious and political pressure revolving around the union of churches. Yet the martyrdom narratives cannot be read solely in terms of misery and hardship. The authors perceive the martyrdoms as a divine sign carrying the hope of future victory on behalf of the Byzantine emperor and the Byzantine church in which they will overcome the faithless despite the catastrophes that have befallen the Christian Roman oikoumene.

A nuanced vertical reading—involving analysis of the patron/author-reader relationship, literary and historical considerations, and inter-textual allusions—along with a horizontal reading—focusing on the movements, attitudes, actions, and self-identification of the characters—of the Turkish Muslim epics, late Byzantine martyria, and dervish vitas reflect that as the frontiers of the land of Rome moved, imagined communities come to be attached to imagined places, as some of the displaced created new homelands and others

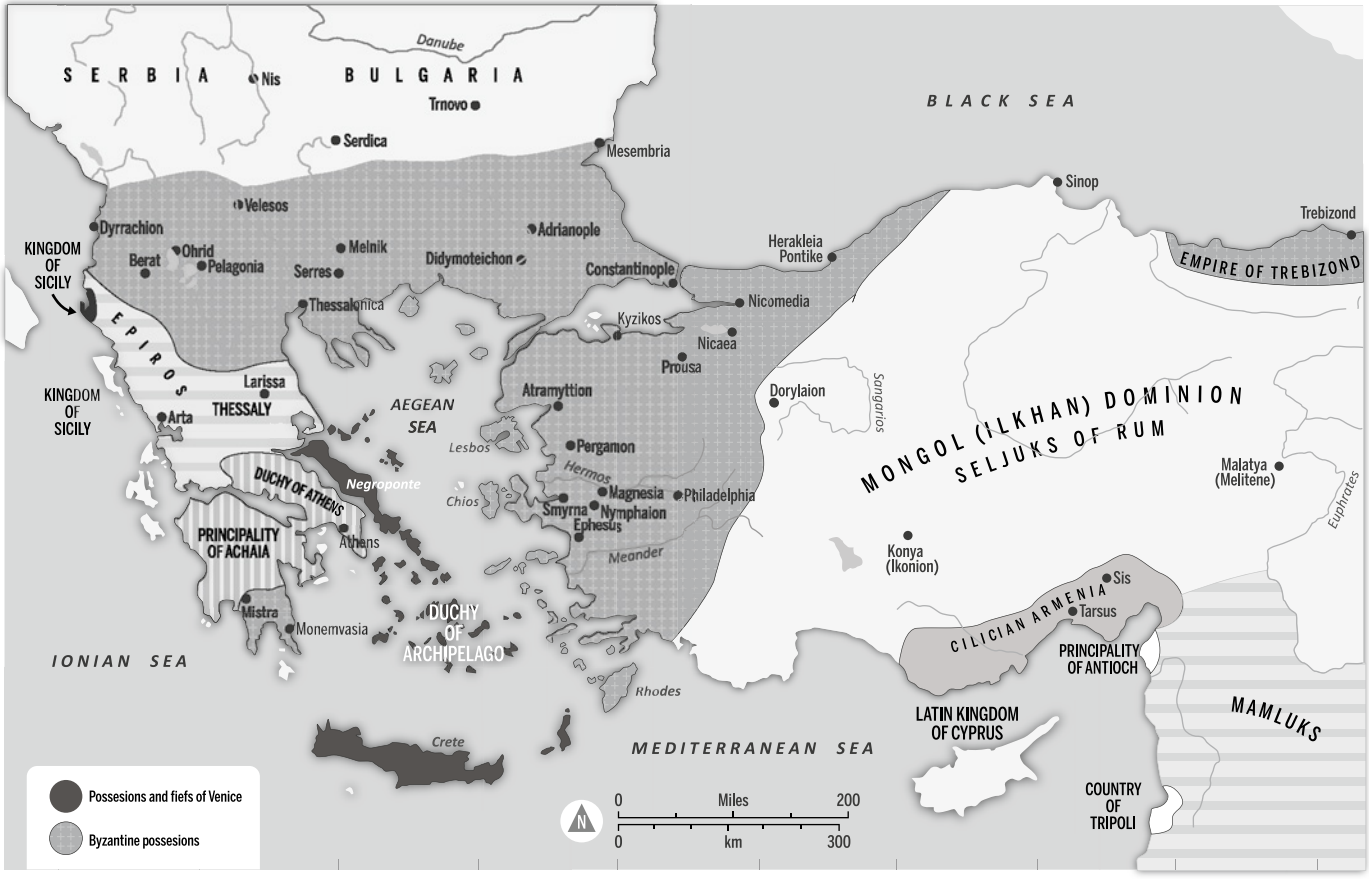
clustered around remembered or imagined homelands, places, and communities. A dialectic identity formation takes place whereby the newcomers transform the physical, social, and cultural space in an inclusive manner as they themselves are transformed, and the "natives" reformulate their identity in a vast and vaguely defined space in a highly exclusive fashion.



MAP 1 Byzantium, mid-eleventh century
AFTER *THE OXFORD HISTORY OF BYZANTIUM*, ED. CYRIL MANGO (OXFORD 2002), 178

MAP 2 Byzantium, Komnenian period (1081–1185)
AFTER *ODB* 1: 355

MAP 3 The Balkans and Anatolia, c. 1214
AFTER *ODB* 1: 357



MAP 4 Byzantium, c. 1265

AFTER DIMITER ANGELOV, *IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL THOUGHT IN BYZANTIUM, 1204–1330* (NEW YORK 2007), MAP 2

MAP 5 Byzantium, c. 1330

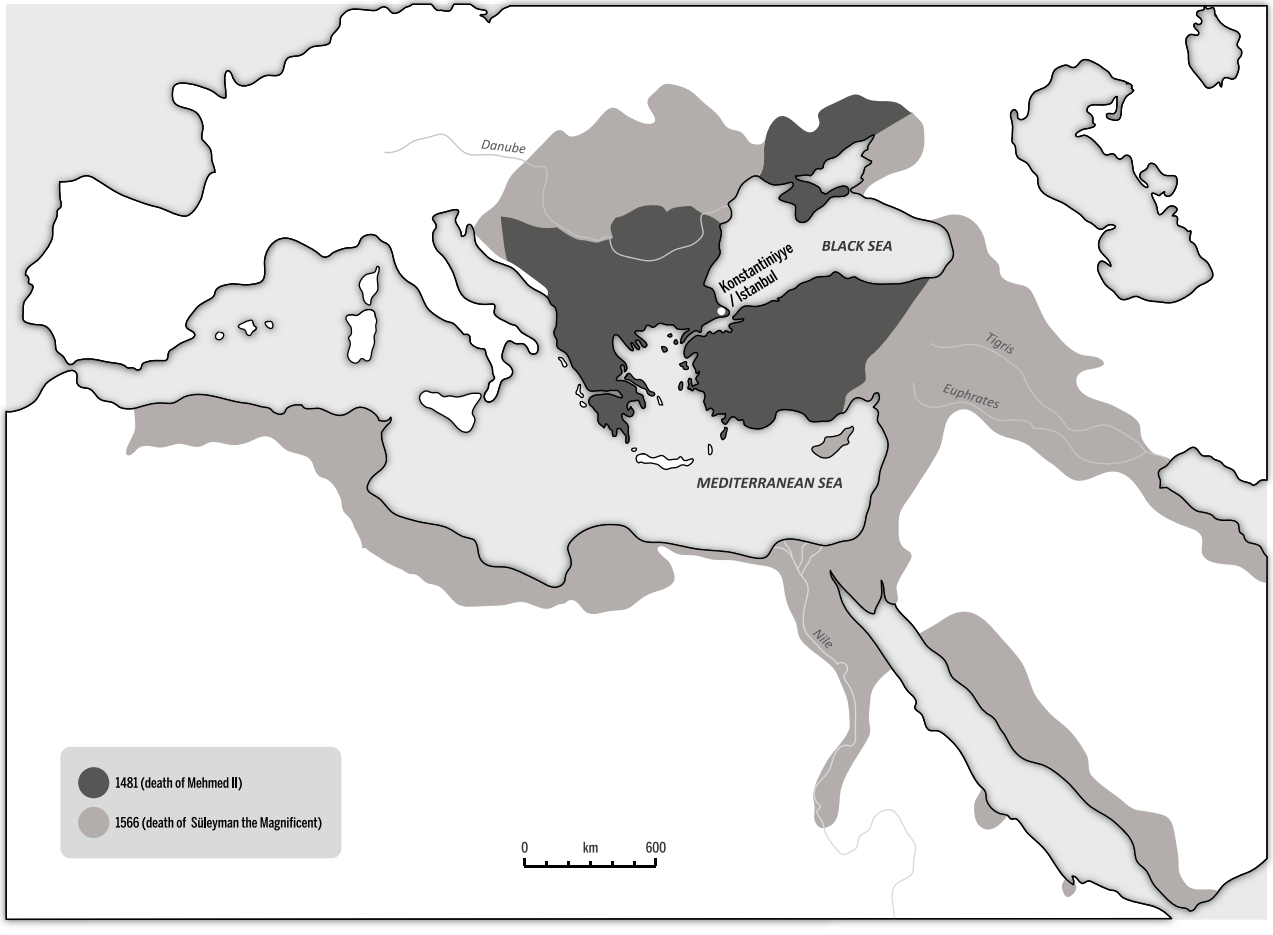
AFTER ANGELOV, *IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL THOUGHT,* MAP 3

MAP 6 Anatolia and Rumelia after 1402

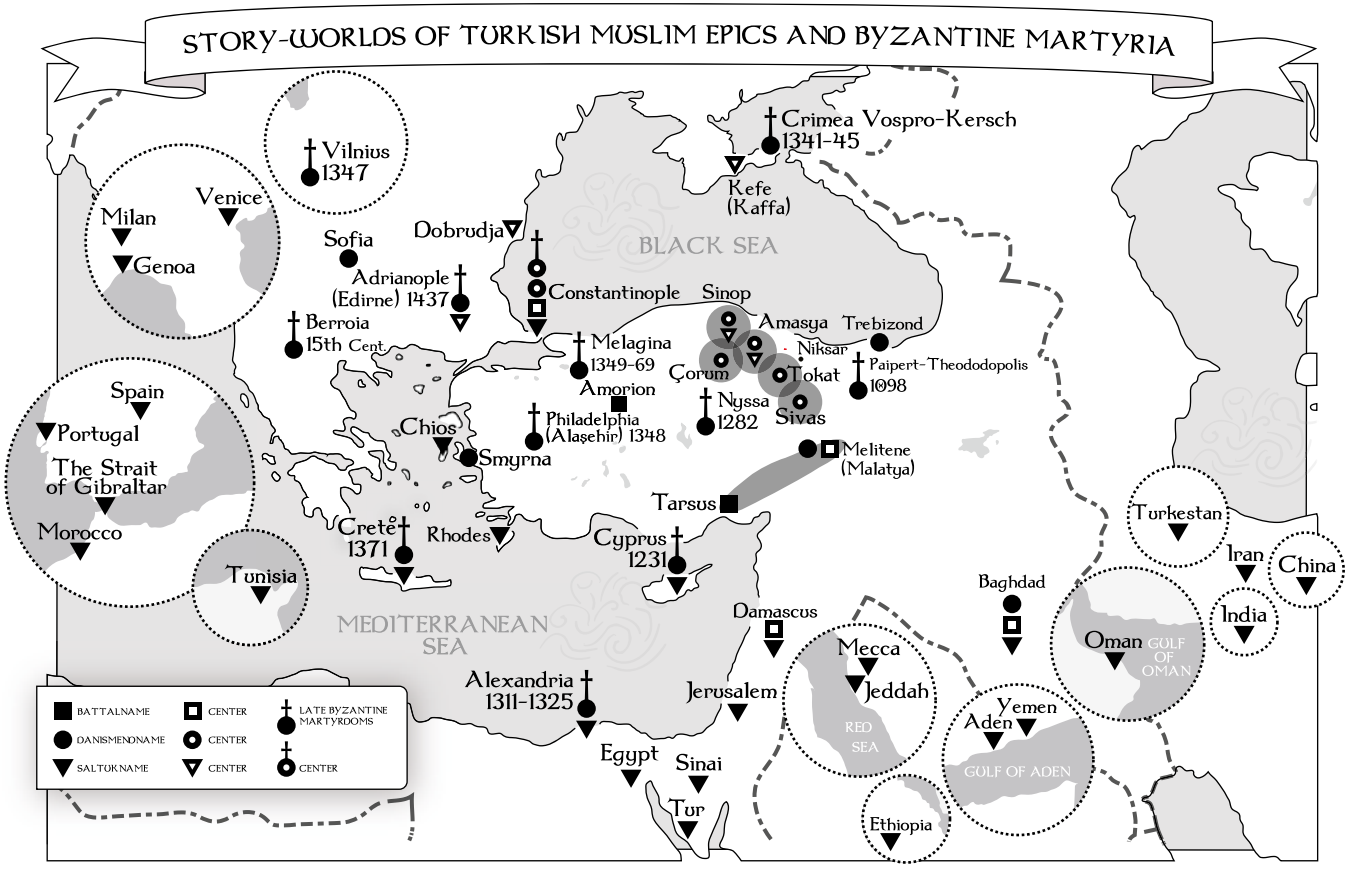
AFTER *HISTOIRE DE L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN*, ED. ROBERT MANTRAN (PARIS 1989), 58

MAP 7 Byzantium, c. 1430
AFTER HTTPS://WWW.THEMAPARCHIVE.COM/BYZANTINE-EMPIRE-1430.HTML

MAP 8 Ottoman territories, c. 1450
AFTER *HISTOIRE DE L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN*, 82



MAP 9 Ottoman territories, 1481 and 1566



MAP 10 Story-worlds of Turkish Muslim epics and Byzantine martyria

Abbreviations

Warrior Epics

Akalın, *Saltukname*
Akalın, Şükrü H., ed. *Saltukname*, 3 vols. Ankara 1988–90.
Dedes, *Battalname*
Dedes, Yorgos, ed. and trans. *Battalname*, 2 vols. Cambridge, MA, 1996.
Demir, *Danişmendname*
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AASS	*Acta Sanctorum*, 71 vols. Paris 1863–1940.
ANSMN	*American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*
BF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
BHG	*Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*^{3}, ed. François Halkin, 3 vols. in 1 pt. Brussels 1957.
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
EI^2	*The Encyclopedia of Islam*^{2} (Leiden 1960–2007)
EI3	*The Encyclopedia of Islam*3 https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3
İA	*İslam Ansiklopedisi,* 13 vols., (Istanbul 1978–1986)
JÖB	*Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Byzantinistik* (before 1969, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*)
MEFRM	*Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome*
ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. Oxford 1991.
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completes, Series graeca,* ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 pts. Paris 1857–66.
PLP	*Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit,* ed. E.Trapp et al., 12 vols. Vienna 1976– 1996.
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
RegPatr	*Les régestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople,* ed. V. Grumel, V. Laurent, and J. Darrouzès, 2 vols. in 8 pts. Paris 1932–79.
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SF	*Südost-Forschungen*
TIB	*Tabula Imperii Byzantini,* ed. Herbert Hunger. Vienna 1976–
TDVİA	*Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi,* 46 vols. İstanbul 1988–2016.
TM	*Travaux et mémoires*

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